University of Alberta

Women in Photography at the Notman Studio, Montreal, 1856-1881

by

Colleen Marie Skidmore ©

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Department of Sociology

Department of Modern Languages and Cultural Studies

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ABSTRACT

This thesis explores a contrary question: how did nineteenth-century working women use photography as a means of self-representation? Photographic portraits of woman employed at the Notman photographic studio of Montreal between 1856 and 1881 make up the study. Despite the women's petit-bourgeois and employed statuses, these portraits present likenesses of private women and their personal lives.

This is an interdisciplinary study that encompasses a sociological examination of the photography industry as an emerging social institution and practice; a cultural studies perspective on women's use of cultural products to imagine identity; and an art historical inquiry into photography as a field of visual representation. The theoretical framework is a feminist historical perspective. While this method foregrounds the problem of gender as a social category of difference, other social differences used to further the interests of imperialist capitalism, such as ethnicity and race, are also significant in terms of equal opportunity and visual representation in relation to the British-Canadian women who are the subject of this study.

The analysis and arguments proceed along two intertwining paths. The thesis first considers the Notman studio's output and its organization in the picture books and examines it not as a coherent representation of a time and place, but as a constructed ordering with far-reaching implications for the economic aspirations and opportunities for women within the emerging industrial and democratic social order. The thesis then contemplates the constructed social ordering in its contingency, complexity and uncertainty for women workers between 1856 and 1881. The politics of the women workers' negotiation of the ensuing social ordering by means of representation is explored through the semiotics of the photographic practices that they embraced for themselves. In conclusion, it is found that the photographic portrait was a useful means by which these women could circumvent, if not subvert, the limits of their class status by invoking bourgeois visual codes of ideals of femininity to claim a particular, useful and acceptable social identity.

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For sharing the adventure, I thank Joe Owens. For infusing it with laughter and joy, I embrace Elizabeth Owens Skidmore.

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INTRODUCTION

This thesis explores a contrary question: how did nineteenth-century working women use photography as a means of self-representation? The topic arises in part from the seeming paucity of images of working people — women, men or children — in archives of photographs prior to the 1890s. The great exception is the series of photographs commissioned by Arthur Munby between 1853 and 1887 of women who laboured in British coal mines.[1] What I examine here are images of women who, like Munby's wife and servant Hannah Cullwick, had some agency in the making of their photographic likenesses.

This project developed at the Notman Photographic Archives at the McCord Museum of Canadian History in Montreal. Curator Stanley Triggs showed me a group of about two dozen photographic portraits which he and others had isolated from the picture books of the William Notman studio that had operated in that city between 1856 and 1934. Eight by ten-inch prints of the portraits

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[1] See Anne McClintock, Imperial Leather: Race, Gender and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest (New York and London: Routledge, 1995), especially Chapters 2 and 3, 18-203.

(originally cartes-de-visite and cabinets) had been made by the Archives' staff and gathered together in a file on the basis of an experience shared by the sitters: each woman portrayed had worked at the Notman studio.

These portraits present themselves as likenesses of private women and their personal lives. Included, for example, were Mrs. Young and Child and Mrs. Stenton and Sister both made in 1880 (Figures 40 and 23). The women are well dressed, arrayed in ruffles, jewellery, and hair accessories. The dominant attribute of each portrait, though, is the intimacy of the pair portrayed. The women are seated close together, the younger behind the older, enveloped in a warm, comfortable environment suggestive of a middle-class home. The specific and domestic nature of each relationship is reiterated, moreover, by the portraits' labels identifying mother and daughter, and sisters. Despite the bourgeois domestic intimacy of the photographs, Triggs claimed that all four of these women, and others like them, were working women, employees of the Notman studio at the time they sat for their portraits.

Triggs had established the file of women workers, along with one dedicated to male employees, in the course of reconstructing the history of the Notman family and studio. He and the Archives staff had matched names in the studio's employee wages books, which had been maintained from 1863 to 1917, with names in the picture books. (The wages books preserve employees' names, dates of service, and biweekly wages.) Revealed by the studio's wages books, but not defined by the portraits or the labels in the picture books, are the women's employment outside of the home as well as something of the gendered division of labour at the photographic studio in which the images were made.

Taking up the Archives' contemporary portrait file of Notman women employees, I set out to determine why and how these women workers had secured for themselves bourgeois portrait identities. I began by seeking information about the individual sitters in the Montreal city directories (from which these women were excluded for the most part) and in the Canadian censuses of 1861, 1871, and 1881. The censuses reveal basic biographical information about many of the women employed in each of those years. The retrieval of personal details, however, confirmed rather than resolved the disparity between the photographic representations of the women and their economic status. Imposing a new classification upon these portraits and exploring their relationship within that category did not facilitate learning anything more about the social identity inscribed by the images. In fact, such a strategy seemed to hollow out the portraits, producing effigies rather than portraying likenesses of the women.

Philippe Lejeune's work on autobiography suggests that thinking of the images in this manner, that is as a coherent category such as "women workers," exacerbates the problem. He asserts that

> the self-portrait is first of all intended to be seen among other works by the same painter: this is where it breathes, where it plays, where it really means something, through resemblance and difference, through recall and rupture. Uprooted from this natural milieu, it loses a good part of its meaning.[2]

In Lejeune's terms, a self-portrait ceases to function fully when gathered and viewed among self-portraits by other painters. That is, shared genre does not constitute shared meaning among images. In the same vein, "women workers" denotes a trait that is shared by the sitters. But how such a trait informs the meanings and roles of the portraits is not resolved by the classification. As far as I know, the Notman employees' portraits were never gathered together in a studio employees' album or in one representing the studio's history. Thus, they did not function historically as a discrete group. On the basis of such an historical discontinuity, a reconciliation of the visual representations and the recorded facts of the women's lives would seem to be impossible. The portraits should more properly be dispersed and returned to their original places in the picture books and the category "Notman women workers" abandoned.

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[2] Philippe Lejeune, On Autobiography, ed. Paul John Eakin. trans. Katherine Leary (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1989), 117.

This inquiry finally found a viable direction because of the chance discovery, by the Notman Photographic Archives staff, of a photograph of a group of Notman employees (Figure 9). The photograph's identifying label in the picture books, "Miss Findlay's Group," differed from that in the alphabetical index books which accompany the albums to allow easy retrieval of particular photographs. There it was recorded as "Young Ladies of the Printing Room." The capricious nature of the labels and the divergent identities that subsequently attended the group portrait suggested that a deconstruction of the Notman studio's photographic classification system was the key to sorting out the problem. Sense could in fact be made of this set of women employees' images but to do so I had to attend to them within the contexts of their production and historical presentation in the Notman studio.

My strategy, then, is to begin by returning to the original site of viewing the images, in this case the studio's picture books, the one place where a mass of photographic portraits made in the same place by the same people was ordered, assembled, and remains intact today. I have set out to examine the meaning produced by the structure, content, and format of the picture books. The purpose is not simply to take a reading of the intentions of the filing system, such as practical usage in business, but to obtain an understanding of the meaning and consequences of that system as represented in the photographic archive of the women workers.

Accomplishing such an inquiry has required research and analyses that take up the interests of three disciplines. Because photography has emerged as a pervasive institution in the modern era, a sociological inquiry is integral to photography studies. Thus, the project encompasses an examination of the photography industry as an emerging social institution and practice. In this context, specific interest lies in the composition and strategies of the Notman photographic studio and the socio-economic status of individual employees. Secondly, a cultural studies perspective marks the study of gender, class, and ethnic relations. This field takes as a key point of interest the question of how socially-disempowered groups, such as women, have used cultural products, such as photographs, to negotiate, claim, resist, represent, or imagine identity, often at a location peripheral to centres of power, such as Montreal, Canada. Finally, visual representation lies at the heart of my research interest and is the field claimed by art history. A large point of debate, however, is whether photography studies can be managed within the disciplinary boundaries of art history alone where photography has traditionally been excluded because of its means of production and social roles.[3] Nevertheless, some art history practices include a focus on cultural and sociological issues. For those with such interests, the field has re-emerged as the study of visual culture, in which representation of all kinds, including photography, is studied in terms of social uses and ideologies.

The theoretical framework for this interdisciplinary study of working women's use of photographic imagery is a feminist historical perspective. The principle interest of this approach is the relationship of women to capitalism, the gendered division of labour, and its cultural and social consequences. Classic Marxism defines varying relationships to capitalism in terms of class, on the basis of one's contribution to production, either labour or capital. In comparison, materialist feminism argues that women's experiences within those class divisions have differed in tangible ways from that of men, and that these divisions themselves do not express the experiences of women generally or the experiences of male-female relationships in productive enterprises.

To demonstrate how that is so, this method insists on determining material conditions of existence for women in the specific historical moment under consideration. In this respect, the hegemonic force of imperialist capitalism in emerging global economic relations in the nineteenth century provides the framework for the analysis. While materialist feminism foregrounds the problem of gender as a social category of experience and study and acknowledges that women's experiences vary in part because of class differences, other categories of difference used to further the interests of imperialist capitalism, such as ethnicity and race, are also significant. This element is most significant in the discussion of equal opportunity and visual representation in Chapter Four. The presence in the studio picture books of a very few women and men who differ visibly from the European norm appears to confirm the truth of the idea that all members of a society could enjoy the benefits of imperial capitalism. Racial origin is the overriding difference pictured, an idea of difference that also distinguishes the British-Canadian women who are the subject of this study.

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[3] The debate is well represented in The Contest of Meaning: Critical Histories of Photography, ed., Richard Bolton (Cambridge, Massachusetts and London: MIT Press, 1989).

The concept of difference underscores the history of social relations in Canada, be it racial difference (Amerindian and European predominantly, as well as Asian and African), ethnic difference (mainly French Canadian and British, but also Eastern European and Asian), gender difference, or class difference (especially working and middle class). Other categories of social identity and difference, more rarely acknowledged, are relevant as well. These may include marital status, age, parental status, religious affiliation or sexual orientation. The first three categories proved to have been of some significance in the experiences of the women in this study. All of these issues are considered when they intersect and have some bearing on my main interest in the larger encompassing social ordering of gender.

The concept of difference, then, is a theoretical cornerstone of this study. Not only is difference an historical concept of the period under discussion, theorizing difference represents late twentieth-century interest in contesting received histories and the diverse legacies bequeathed or inherited by seemingly disparate groups in Canada. My main point of reference is the theoretical position articulated by Teresa de Lauretis that difference is a condition socially and historically inscribed rather than an essential characteristic of an individual or group. As such, the subject to be studied is not difference per se but the historical and social relations that formulate and inscribe the idea of an individual or group's difference. De Lauretis takes the example of feminist inquiry and argues that defining its parameters within the conceptual oppositions of sexual difference binds feminist thinking to the terms of western patriarchy. Maintaining an idea of different and separate spheres of social reality such as male/female or public/private, she holds, is untenable in light of social relations, such as gender, class, race and labour, that are multiple and interconnected, and often contradictory for the individual.[4]

Recognizing concepts of gender and racial differences as socially-constructed rather than biological phenomena, as concepts historically grounded in nineteenth-century British, French, and American imperialist discourse, allows for an unprecedented scope of inquiry that breaks the boundaries of colonial ideologies and opens space for explorations into historical social and material conditions, structures, and relations of women's varied lives that differed quantitatively and qualitatively from those of men as well as other women. In the chapters that follow, I seek to analyze the differing relationships to the economic and political conditions that shaped the society shared by the British-Canadian petit-bourgeois women and men employed and often photographed at the Notman studio in the third quarter of the nineteenth century in Montreal. While their economic and political contexts were nominally the same, expectations and opportunities differed on the basis of socially inscribed and regulated sexual difference. The politics of the women workers' negotiation of the ensuing social ordering by means of representation is explored through the semiotics of the photographic practices that they embraced for themselves. How ideas of differences were engaged and capitalized on by the women in their daily lives are examined with the understanding that these differences were not so much fact as concept and that categories of difference varied and overlapped for each woman making the workplace group an intricate social entity and one wherein contradiction was a common denominator.

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[4] Teresa de Lauretis, "The Technology of Gender," 1-30 in Technologies of Gender: Essays on Theory, Film and Fiction (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1987). See also Teresa de Lauretis, "Upping the anti [sic] in feminist theory," (1990), 74-89 in The Cultural Studies Reader, ed. Simon During (London and New York: Routledge, 1993).

A study such as this explores the fields of difference to learn more about the complexities and compromises of social relations in a given historical moment. In contrast, through the photographic archives and the pictorial decisions of petit-bourgeois women that rest there, we see that photographic representation was one arena in which efforts were made to reconcile contradictions of various categories of identities with the lived practices and experiences of these women. Where reconciliation proved elusive, disguising incongruities appears to have been common practice. The practice of disguise is conducted in part by means of the acquisition and display of both physical objects, such as clothing, furnishings, and real estate, and cultural capital, such as one's education as well as literary, fine art and music consumption that serve as conspicuous signs of social placement or identity. Photographic portraiture, both object and capital, thrived at this time as a site of such masquerade.

The nineteenth-century idea of photographic verisimilitude made it feasible to rally the portrait photograph as a place where appearances could be manufactured and confirmed as truth. The photograph is a physical reality. It is also an illusion, what Jean Baudrillard calls a simulation or 'sham object' that "offers an abundance of signs that they are real, but in fact they are not."[5] Herein lies the allure of the photograph. The viewer readily traverses the photographic surface, the paper object, in search of the essence of the sitter known to exist (or have existed) in the material world. These distinct entities are readily conflated in the act of viewing the photographic image. The challenge for the viewer is to navigate the persuasive signs of the real to locate the feigned, a process that astute portrait sitters can circumscribe or subvert. Unmasking the sitter is an uncertain process as my own attempts with Miss Findlay's Group attest.

Some physical and methodological difficulties complicate the study. First of all, the massive numbers of images that were collected over the years of the Notman studio operations make a single, all-encompassing examination of the complete archives an impossible task.[6] The consequent problem is determining how and where to enter the collection historically. Secondly, how does one discuss the collection of photographs in a manner that preserves a sense of the primary historical classifications? That is, how does one retain the complexity, the confusion of imagery, as well as a sense of the studio's effort to exert some kind of control over the volume and variety of images made over eight decades? Notman studio photographs are found today, as they were in the nineteenth century, not only in the picture books of the studio morgue but in private family photograph albums, as engravings in newspapers, in travel guides, and in stereograph collections. They were also to be seen on the reception room walls of the Notman establishment itself. These varied ways and places of collecting, assembling, and viewing the photographs raise the issue of the roles of the sites of production and consumption in the meanings produced by or taken from the images. Thus, the nature and location of the audience viewing the photographs must have a bearing here as well.

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[5] Jean Baudrillard, The Consumer Society: Myths and Structures [1970] (London: Sage Publications, 1998), 12.

In the late 1850s, Notman's produced daguerreotypes, tintypes, ambrotypes, as well as stereographs and single-plate views made by means of the collodion wet-plate glass negative and albumen print process. From 1860 to 1881, this latter process dominated the studio's production. The years 1860-61 are especially significant, marking the introduction of carte-de-visite portraiture on a massive scale in North America and Western Europe, and the beginning of the Notman picture book system of filing those images. This is an extraordinary shift in the means and effects of visual representation, a shift that must be linked to the formation of archival arrangements. It is this intersection of photographic representation and the new ordering of imagery that marks the historical entry point for this thesis inquiry.

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[6] Allan Sekula describes the phenomenon of "the encyclopedic authority" of photographic archives in general from the nineteenth century in "The Body and the Archive," October 39 (Winter 1986): 658.

The analysis and arguments that follow proceed along two intertwining paths. The thesis first considers the Notman studio's output and its organization in the picture books and examines it not as a coherent representation of a time and place, but as a constructed ordering with far-reaching implications for the economic aspirations and opportunities for women within the emerging industrial and democratic social order. The thesis then contemplates the constructed social ordering in its contingency, complexity and uncertainty for women workers at the time of production between 1856, the beginning of the Notman photographic enterprise, and 1881 when the Notman studio converted to dry plate technology.[7]

Chapter One, "The Notman Archives," takes a look at contemporary ways that the historical contents of the Notman Photographic Archives have been reimagined and reused by those associated with the collection. The point argued is that the manner in which the images have been organized, published, and analyzed, has affected the perception of the scope, purpose, function, and meanings of Notman images that were produced at the time they were first made and circulated. Chapter Two, "The Notman Enterprise," then assesses the role and place that the photography industry, as represented by the dominant player, the Notman studio, claimed in Montreal within the social order which it not only represented and reproduced but embodied. This initial discussion sets the parameters of analysis and use of the photograph of "Miss Findlay's Group" that is pursued throughout the thesis. The social and pictorial possibilities for women workers in the Notman studio were delimited in part by the nature of the photographic enterprise in industrializing Montreal.

Chapter Three, "The Picture Books," narrows the study to the means by which the Notman studio ordered its image inventory. The aim of this chapter is to consider how historical knowledge of social arrangements and aspirations is defined and produced by the manner in which the picture books were composed. The placement and registration of the portrait of Miss Findlay and her companions, for example, in the context of the picture books is found to contribute to the reading of the images as a partial and flexible social identity. The arrangement of the picture books and the relationship of the photograph to this system shed light on the role of photography in the formation of a social identity for this group of women who were engaged with the medium both as consumers and as producers.

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[7] Dry plate methods freed photographers from the need to process their negatives immediately. Photography outside the studio became more viable and the Notman picture books demonstrate that staff photographers ventured further afield.

Chapter Four, "The Portrait Photograph," then considers how individual portraits that formed a community of images when gathered in the picture books produced a particular kind of collective class portrait of Montreal that encompassed gender and racial diversity. Ordering portraits in the albums disrupted the tradition of painted portraiture as a means of representing social distinction and repositioned portraiture as a means of representation in tune with ideas of mass production, conformity, and equal opportunity in an industrializing economy. The question that lingers is how gender informed this visual ordering and its consequences for some groups of women; the final two chapters explore this at length.

Chapter Five, "Photography, Labour, and Gender," examines the intersection of these elements for petit-bourgeois studio employees. The jobs, wages, experiences, expectations, and opportunities of women and men studio workers are compared and contrasted. In Chapter Six, "Young Ladies of the Printing Room," the object of analysis is the group portrait of Notman workers framed in light of the conditions of production and reception and examined to determine how the women workers' portraits mediated the expectations of the social categories in which they functioned. This chapter attempts to come to grips with the problem of why the petit-bourgeois working women who compose the image Miss Findlay's Group chose or agreed to the representation of themselves as private, middle-class women, placed in a domestic rather than professional setting. Here the issue of the relative significance of gender versus class as a primary means of social identity is explored in the context of new political, legal, and social regulations governing women's paid employment that emerged during the period covered by this study. In conclusion, it is found that the photographic portrait was a useful means by which these women could circumvent, if not subvert, the limits of their class status by invoking bourgeois visual codes of ideals of femininity to claim a particular, useful and acceptable social identity.

CHAPTER 1

THE NOTMAN PHOTOGRAPHIC ARCHIVES

In 1967, the Notman Photographic Archives collection at the McCord Museum of Canadian History in Montreal marked the centennial anniversary of the confederation of Canada in an exhibition and book called Portrait of a Period: A Collection of Notman Photography 1856 to 1915. Introducing this cultural legacy of the period in which Canada was transformed from a colony into a "dominion" to Canadian and foreign visitors in Montreal for Expo '67, Edgar Andrew Collard portrayed the role of the Notman studio in nineteenth-century industrializing Montreal this way:

> What impresses most in the vast collection of Notman photographs is a prevailing zest, a ceaseless curiosity, an evident determination to record a fascinating environment...
>
> [Notman] made himself its recorder, not merely for the sake of toil or duty, but because of a determined curiosity. There was so much to be seen of the old and the new, of the changeless and the changing, that he was eager to see and capture it all, and to record the vast and detailed kaleidoscope....[1]

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[1] Edgar Andrew Collard, Introduction in Portrait of a Period: A Collection of Notman Photography 1856 to 1915 by J. Russell Harper and Stanley Triggs (Montreal: McGill University Press, 1967), n.p. Collard was an editor of the Montreal Gazette and had a particular interest in Montreal

Collard articulated the visual tone of the photographs made and arranged by the Notman studio during its years of production, observing that "all that Notman photographed was an integral part of his world - the world of Montreal and its far-flung, almost imperial interests."[2] Those regions photographed outside of Montreal "were pictures from the scenes of [Montreal's] interests and its endeavours."[3] It

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history. He has written a number of books about Montreal since the mid-1960s.

In 1935, Charles Notman, the last surviving Notman son, sold the seventy-eight year old firm to Associated Screen News. In 1955, Associated Screen News sold the negatives, prints, albums, and other materials of the original Notman studio to a group of investors who in turn deposited the collection in the McCord Museum at McGill University in Montreal in 1956. See Stanley G. Triggs, William Notman: The Stamp of a Studio (Toronto: Art Gallery of Ontario/Coach House Press, 1986), 165-166; and Roger Hall, Gordon Dodds, and Stanley G. Triggs, The World of William Notman (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1993), 63-64.

Maclean's magazine, one of the investors, published a series of articles on the studio and its photographs upon acquisition: Pierre Berton, "A priceless photo collection finds a home," Maclean's 69 (24 November 1956): 16-27; "How the fabulous Mr. Notman achieved the impossible," Maclean's 70 (11 May 1957): 21-27; and, Yousuf Karsh, "Have women forgotten how to be beautiful? A Maclean's Album by William Notman and Yousuf Karsh," Maclean's 71 (2 August 1958): 15-21.

[2] Collard in Harper, Portrait, n.p.

[3] Ibid. William Notman did not, of course, make every photograph himself. The studio employed a number of men as staff photographers, at least twenty-six of whom have been identified. See Triggs, Stamp of a Studio, 163-166.

is a world that reads to the producers of Portrait of a Period as prosperous, hard working, adventurous, wide-ranging and, above all, industrial.

The nineteenth-century photography industry is perceived today to have produced a vast, visually encyclopedic, disordered, scattered, and often anonymous mass of mostly paper images. Millions of photographs are gathered in archives around the world that exist for the purposes of amassing, sorting, containing, and imposing some kind of order on large numbers of prints and, to a lesser extent, negatives, produced in, and obtained from, a variety of often unrelated sources. The ways vary in which photographs are classified but include grouping according to those made by particular photographers or studios, subject matter, time period, geographical location, format, printing process, and collector. The results of such archival orderings are new archaeological layers of classification placed upon and above those imposed by the original studios or collectors.

The reading of Notman images taken by Portrait of a Period suggests that the manner in which the studio organized its photographs has had a profound effect on how they have been used and interpreted subsequently in the Notman Photographic Archives and literature about the collection. Curators, researchers and writers have reordered the contents of its original picture books as historical archives. The morgue has been mined for visual treasures to illustrate the people and activities of Montreal (and to a lesser degree, of other parts of Canada) between 1856 and 1935 in the tone cast by Portrait of a Period. The purpose of this chapter is to consider the ways in which archival reorderings of the Notman morgue have inflected the casting of the historical character of the Notman enterprise and its photographs.

I. The Notman Studio Morgue

One of the largest and most complete archives of a single nineteenth-century photography studio is that of the William Notman studio. This collection of photographic portrait albums presents a particular sight (and site) of later nineteenth-century Montreal society, one which has been described by Collard as "diversity without incongruity."[4] Four hundred thousand carte-de-visite (2.5 x 3.5 inches) and cabinet (4 x 5.5 inches) photographs of Montrealers and visitors to the city who attended Notman's for portrait sittings are mounted and labelled with a negative number and the sitter's name, one after the other, in picture albums like those ubiquitously compiled and displayed in nineteenth-century bourgeois homes.

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[4] Ibid.

The impression created by the Notman albums is one of a large, mixed but congenial and well-to-do family. Women and men appear to be almost equally represented. Individuals, couples, and family groupings are all to be seen. Many of the surnames are French, although the majority are British, that is English, Scottish, and Irish. All but the rarest individual or group are of Western European origin; nevertheless, a few individuals of Amerindian, Asian, and African American and Eastern European origins also had their portraits made at Notman's.

The view albums, begun in the late 1870s but now dispersed, were resplendent versions of the amateur view collector's endeavours. The city of Montreal itself was frequently photographed over the decades. So also were the regions of British North America in which Montreal businesses had investment interests. Industry marked images of urban settlement and rural space between Newfoundland and Vancouver Island. Photographs of Amerindians on the prairies and the west coast after 1886 and French Canadians working in rural Lower Canada in the 1870s spotted the "view" books as well. The collective categorization of such diverse images as "view" photographs signals the employment of photographic technology and systems of organization in the service of middle and late nineteenth-century colonialism.

Established in 1856, the Notman studio was making a reputation for itself abroad by 1860. The Art-Journal of London first took note of some Notman photographs in November 1860:

> A publisher in Canada, Mr. Notman of Montreal, has issued a mass of views for the stereoscope, of which he has sent us some specimens, together with his list containing names of no fewer than five hundred and twenty places thus pictured. Judging from those before us, the productions are of great merit, skillfully manipulated, and arranged with much artistic skill, the subjects being judiciously selected. They give us, indeed, almost a perfect idea of the interesting country which is just now attracting special attention in England - the ties that bind us to our valuable colony having been drawn closer and closer by recent visits. It is impossible for us to convey an idea of the extent of the country embraced in this large series; of Victoria Bridge alone there are forty views; of Montreal, and its neighbourhood, sixty; of Quebec, and its vicinity, forty; while in Niagara, there are perhaps one hundred. The publication is a large boon to Art; the views cannot fail to be acceptable to all who take delight in the stereoscope.[5]

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[5] "Stereoscopic Views of Canada," Art-Journal, n.s. 6 (November 1860): 351. The list of stereographs cited was probably an edition of a twenty-eight page booklet in the collection of the Metropolitan Toronto Library bearing only the partial title Victoria Bridge, Niagara Falls, Principal Cities and Places of Interest Throughout Canada. Published by...Notman....raphic Artist. A list of 567 photographs is printed along with the review, "Stereoscopic Views of Canada," from the London Photographic News (12 October 1860). A photocopy of this catalogue is in the Notman Publication File in the Notman Photographic Archives.

The quality of the photographs that so impressed this reviewer became a recurring theme in literature documenting the output of the Notman studio during the 1860s. A review of work in the London Photographic News in October that same year claimed that the Notman stereographic views they had received (a similar package, perhaps) "all possess artistic excellence, whilst a few of them we must pronounce amongst the best, if not the best, both as photographs and as pictures, that we have ever examined."[6] Much of the Notman studio's reputation was built upon an image of quality photographs.

II. Portrait of a Period

The Notman Photographic Archives have aimed to re-establish the studio's reputation in posterity. The work to date has established that Notman studio photographs were of a technical and aesthetic quality that competed with the best of North American and European studios as reviews at the time would seem to indicate. In 1865, for example, the Art-Journal speculated that

> There must be something in the atmosphere of Canada very favourable to the development of photographic art,

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[6] "Stereoscopic Views of Canada," London Photographic News (12 October 1860).

> judging from a number of specimens recently sent us by Mr. Notman of Montreal, which are certainly among the most brilliant carte-de-visite portraits we have ever examined.[7]

Out of the nearly 400,000 photographs made over the years by the Notman studio, one hundred and seventy-four images were reproduced in Portrait of a Period, grouped under the headings "The People" (which included fifty-two images), "The Cities" (forty-five), "The Sea" (twenty-one), and "The Countryside" (fifty-six).[8] From this gathering, one might suppose that the catalogue display is representative of the general mix and ratio of images in the picture books. This is not so, however. Portraits make up the vast majority of photographs made in the Notman studio and preserved in the picture books. Moreover, even though images of labourers at work and people of other than British ancestry are relatively numerous in the exhibition catalogue, one finds that they are rare in the picture books themselves. They are culled from the vast quantity of portraits that are overwhelmingly of a white urban bourgeoisie of western European origins or from the far smaller pool of views that very often include signs of industry but more rarely of the human beings who powered that industry.

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[7] "Canadian Photographs," Art-Journal, n.s. 4 (1 March 1865): 95. Notman included reviews such as these in advertising copy published in Montreal newspapers. This one is included in an advertisement retained in the Notman Advertisements file at the Notman Photographic Archives. Its source is not noted.

[8] "List of Plates," in Harper, Portrait, n.p.

The photographs chosen for attention in 1967 in the throes of Canada's celebratory centennial year speak as much to the interests and issues of the 1960s as to the times in which the photographs themselves were made. Canadians made the pilgrimage to Expo '67, the international world's fair staged in Montreal, Canada's economic capital. Montreal's status as economic capital had been consolidated by the mid-1850s but would begin to break down just a few years after Expo '67. The purpose and nature of the spectacle in 1967 was reminiscent of that launched in 1860 to mark the Prince of Wales's visit to Montreal to inaugurate the newly completed Victoria Bridge. One hundred and seven years earlier, Montreal hosted an international display of industry and culture instigated by Canadians with political and business interests to claim and validate both a coherent national identity and an international presence for Canada. The same goal was articulated in 1967 by the theme of the fair, "Man and His World." The McCord Museum exhibition of historical Notman photographs, which ran at the same time as Expo, resonated with this theme. The images chosen for display portrayed Canada's historical foundation as one of industry and enterprise solid enough to have nurtured a nation to maturity within a century.

The exhibition curator was J. Russell Harper who the previous year published the first comprehensive survey of the history of painting in Canada.[9] Both projects are engaging recoveries of a strong heritage of visual culture in Canada. The anniversary that fell in 1967 offered Canadians a reason to reevaluate and reimagine their country's past. Harper's contributions to this project are among the most enduring. Within that social environment of claiming and celebrating a history, the Notman Photographic Archives images came into their own. Here was the visual embodiment of a glorious past, a witness to a time of high achievement: the envisioning and building of a geographically massive and diverse nation. Portrait of a Period is a history composed by and for those seeking a story of a glorious past to fuel a late-twentieth century longing for a strong and vibrant national presence. Those charged with portraying the past looked to the men, places, and events that were understood to be the essential components of history. Retrieved from Notman's morgue were photographs that confirmed an illustrious industrial and capitalist history.

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[9] J. Russell Harper, Painting In Canada: A History (University of Toronto Press and Les Presses de L'université Laval, 1966). Harper's work became the standard text in the field of Canadian art history that emerged in the following decade. A second edition of 1977 remains in print and in use in classrooms today.

Harper's catalogue essay on the Notman studio distills this history as it draws to conclusion with this observation:

> Notman's progress reflects the optimistic spirit of the early years of Confederation. This was an age of vitality, when opportunity was seized on every hand. Men with his outlook, individuals with unbounded faith in the future, brought about a union of the provinces as a prelude to greater things.[10]

Harper's reading is one that takes up the rhetoric of the "age of Confederation" - a rhetoric of progress and prosperity, and the period in which the gallery of photographs compiled by the Notman studio was begun and is thus implicated.

In the thirty years following the Canadian centennial, social relations in the country have shifted monumentally. Roots of change can be traced to other events and attitudes at play during the 1960s that belied the seamless image of a young, vigorous and unified nation promoted by the centennial programme of celebration. The best indicator of the shift that has taken place is traced to responses to the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism (1963-

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[10] Harper, Portrait, n.p.

1971) whose purpose was to examine the status of the French language in Canada and to recommend means for protecting both the French language as well as cultural practices of non-British or French-Canadian ethnic groups in Canadian society. The commission advised instituting the principles of the 1867 British North America Act that constituted the Dominion of Canada and established both French and English as judicial and legislative languages federally and in Quebec, and entrenched the right to school systems in each language. The Official Languages Act of 1969 making both English and French working languages of federal institutions was the immediate response to this recommendation. The commission of the 1960s also counselled acknowledging, accommodating and supporting the multicultural character of Canadian society that was a result of the settlement in Canada of increasingly diverse immigrant groups throughout the twentieth century. Such immigration had significantly reduced the British majority of the early Confderation years.

Canadians' response to the concept of Canada as a bilingual and multicultural country rather than one predominantly and proudly British in origin and design was divided and remains so. Disagreement over the ideas and implications of cultural dualism and multiculturalism, institutional bilingualism, as well as the very presence, not to mention the identity, role, and histories, of First Nations peoples as a significant cultural entity are strong and impassioned. One positive outcome of this period of reconceptualizing the country's history and identity, however, is that the historical composition of Canada as one of a multitude of social groups has been revealed and acknowledged. It is not surprising then that the Notman archives should be revisited today and explored in light of these contemporary ideas about Canada's historical identity.

In 1967, however, the curators found what they were looking for in the Notman archive. Portrait of a Period composes both a history of the Notman studio, founded on the life story of William Notman, and a positivist history of the political and economic life of Canada. Furthermore, the history of Canada and that of the Notman studio are found to be inextricably bound; the images are inexplicable outside the geopolitical context in which they were produced.

In his introduction to Portrait of a Period, Edgar Andrew Collard, like Harper, speculates about William Notman's intentions and responses to his historical moment.

> William Notman was important not only for his skills as a photographer, but also because he was great enough to realize to the full the advantages of the world about him. If anyone in the Victorian era had wished to set up his camera where it would have the widest and most varied scope, he could scarcely have done better than William Notman when he set up his camera in Montreal in 1856. Montreal had a number of other photographers, but if theirs was never Notman's achievement, it was as much

> because of their lesser enterprise as their lesser skill.[11]

A romantic glow of entrepreneurial aptitude is cast around successful nineteenth-century photographers and their industry. It is not aesthetic achievement or technical skill that Collard finds remarkable about William Notman's particular endeavours. He lauds, instead, Notman's genius, attributing his success to hard work, spirit, ingenuity, and serendipity. For where else, he asks, but Montreal in the late-nineteenth century could one have aspired to the heights reached by William Notman? All this is made the sharper by the conclusion that laziness and ineptitude were what had prevented other photographers who found themselves in the same place, such as James Inglis, Alexander Henderson, and T.C. Doane, from enjoying similar prominence in their own day as well as in posterity.

This portrayal of William Notman resonates in every account that has followed. Social conditions, business opportunities, and market demand are overlooked as factors informing Notman's activities and ascendancy in Montreal's photography industry.[12] The image is not without historical roots, however. The nineteenth-century cult of the individual man of genius continues to pervade twentieth-century biographical rhetoric. Collard's description, too, must be recognized as having fallen prey not only to the nationalist fervor of the cultural celebration that marked Canada's centenary in 1967 and was the impetus for the exhibition, but also to the textual and visual rhetoric of the era he is studying. Self-portraits of the Notman family, one made in 1859, the other in 1891, afford a sense of this.

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[11] Collard in Harper, Portrait, n.p.

[12] Despite occasional fires and two economic recessions, first between 1857 and 1861 and again from 1873 to 1880, the Notman photographic studio became the largest such enterprise in North America during William's lifetime. He opened a total of twenty-six branch studios in central and Atlantic Canada and the northeastern United States.

Furthermore, Notman's enterprise was very much a family business. Not only did the first and second generations of Notman men share an interest in the industry but also Notman's three sons and assorted nephews and nieces eventually worked in the Montreal studio or its various branches. Notman's sons joined the firm as they reached apprenticeship ages: William McFarlane (1857-1913) started in 1873, George R.W. (1868-1921) in 1884, and Charles F. (1870-1955) in 1891, after three years of work in the Boston branch (established in 1877) which he had joined upon completion of his secondary schooling in 1888. William McFarlane took over the Montreal studio on his father's death. In 1894, he entered into a partnership with Charles who retained the firm until selling it upon retirement in 1935. George took over the Boston branch of the studio in 1892. The Notman branch studios are the subject of Hall et al., William Notman.

III. Portrait of a Family

The 1859 group portrait of the Notman Family (Figure 1), made in the Notman studio at 11 Bleury, denotes a carefully contrived representation of identity and social placement of the Notman family entity, recently reunited in North America. The stereograph format in which the portrait was cast, for example, speaks of many things. The reproducible stereograph, made by the collodion/albumen process, was a source of tremendous income for the photography industry and a major area of production in the Notman studio in its earliest years. The photography industry thrived on the stereograph that had become a popular pastime of middle-class leisure, one that was valued as both entertaining and educational as viewers consumed mass-produced images of landscape and architectural monuments from around the world.[13] Having one's portrait made up in this format implied an affiliation with the values of modernity and technological progress encoded within it, as well as a contemporary, up-to-date engagement with middle-class social interests and pastimes. Most importantly, perhaps, for a family far from home, multiple copies of the portrait could be printed from the collodion wet-plate negative and distributed in abundance.

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[13] The stereoscope also demonstrated and facilitated scientific inquiry into vision. See Jonathan Crary, Techniques of the Observer: On Vision and Modernity in the Nineteenth Century (Cambridge, Massachusetts and London: MIT Press, 1990).

The Notman Family is an image of renewed prosperity, health, and familial closeness. It would have made a substantial impression on family, friends, and associates left in Scotland when the Notmans were forced by misfortune, disgrace, and destitution not only to pursue new financial opportunities but to take up a new life in a distant colony. The extended Notman family, who lived in two residences in Montreal, has gathered for this portrait. The active stewardship of the family appears to have been passed to the four sons of William, Sr. who is seated holding his Canadian-born grandson, William McFarlane, on his knee. To his right is seated his wife Janet Sloan with granddaughter Fanny on her lap. The placement of the grandparents and grandchildren at the centre of the image marks clearly the continuity of generations. William, Sr. and Janet's five children who had immigrated stand behind the rest of the family: William, the eldest, is at the left with his young brother James beside him; his other siblings Robert, Margaret (Maggie), and John stand on the right of the photograph. William's wife Alice, seated in front of him, completes the group.

On the basis of the content and form of the photograph alone, William, who owned the studio in which the portrait is being made, is not distinguished beyond his brothers in any professional manner. Only our historical knowledge leads us to seek him out as the proprietor of the Notman studio. William does stand apart in another significant way, though. He is denoted as the only one of the sons to have taken on the role and responsibilities of being a husband and father. Even the presence of his youthful brother James at his side enforces the point that William is the one taking up the role of Notman paterfamilias.

What is most compelling about this photograph is what is revealed by the location in which the family is presented. Here, the photographer's wares and instruments have not been mobilized to stand as signs or symbols calling up past pictorial traditions, family lineage, or the accoutrements of middle-class life. Instead, the Notman family's business endeavours are clearly on display for exactly what they were, the venue and props of a photographic gallery. The background curtain partly open and left casually drawn to reveal the painted backdrop of an exterior setting, the plainly visible studio ceiling and curtain rods, props and other backdrops left standing in the frame on each side, the small framed photographs hanging on a wall on one side; these are the accoutrements of a distinctive, yet inclusive, family identity. This is a family engaged in business, the business of making photographs. Moreover, the very act of making and reproducing their portrait, and the subsequent physical commodity that later viewers would find themselves holding, is a tangible demonstration of the Notman family's enterprise that sets this image apart from photographs of other entrepreneurial families whose portrait may include attributes that represent their activity but is not itself a product of it. The portrait clearly establishes the family's social function as photographers and studio owners. Their description, moreover, rests as much on their family relations as on their business activities. The two are woven in such a manner as to suggest a complex, multilayered identity.

An 1890 portrait of William Notman and Sons (Figure 2) is an updated version of the 1859 stereograph of the family. The image of the Notman family that is portrayed here is one in which the early weaving of family and financial interests in the social fabric had borne fruit.[14] The setting is decorated in rich draperies and panelled interior walls. A misty background of heavy forest is displayed through the window-like opening. Tremendous technical care has been taken with this portrait. Each figure is well lit and sharply focused, the eyes made clearly visible and facial features modelled with light and shadow. The group is comfortably framed and the composition is balanced by an interplay of triangles. The sitters are at their ease, sharing a moment together in front of the camera.

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[14] William Notman's community interests augment such a profile. For example, he was a founding member and active participant in the Art Association of Montreal (established in 1860), served on his parish finance committees, and invested in the ambitious Windsor Hotel with other high-profile Montreal businessmen in the mid-1870s. Notman established a branch studio in the Windsor Hotel when it opened in 1878. See Stanley G. Triggs, William Notman's Studio: The Canadian Picture (Montreal: McCord Museum of Canadian History, 1992), 31.

The men are dressed alike in business suits with striped pants, white shirts, and dark vests and coats. Each son wears a watch fob. William is now seated in his own father's place, wearing glasses and holding a piece of paper as if he has just glanced up from reading it aloud to the other men. His place and demeanour denote William's senior position and continuing role as head. The eldest son, William McFarlane, is distinguished as successor, however, by also being seated, this time casually on a sideboard, facing his father. The middle son, George, stands independently between the two older men, while young Charles, barely twenty years of age and still an apprentice, stands behind his father, leaning on his shoulder. His full independence has yet to be achieved.

In 1890, a year before William Notman's death, familial and professional associations are still foregrounded and celebrated, along with evident skill, prosperity, social standing, strength, and continuity (three sons following in their father's life work). The larger family entity has been displaced, however, its absence disclosing a changed role in social identity. The young men have reached adulthood and with that passage have entered into a new relationship with their father as active contributors to the family's economic enterprise. Absent, though, are the Notman family women, as well as William's siblings and their families. This suggests that by 1890, the Notman firm, marking thirty-four years in business, was a different kind of entity from that of 1859. Here, the male lineage is isolated and honoured. The Notman men look toward a vigorous future of continued prosperity in direct descent from the founder of the successful enterprise. In contrast, the contributions of Notman women, such as Alice Woodwark Notman and Alice Maud Claxton, wife of William MacFarlane, to the family economy and social status are unacknowledged in this entrepreneurial representation. Also absent is a clear reference to the manner in which these men achieved prosperity. The studio props no longer read as such; rather, they set an atmosphere for the confident, accomplished, and prosperous middle-class identity signalled by Notman and Sons.

IV. Conclusion

Since publication of Portrait of a Period in 1967, four major catalogues and one book based on the Notman Photographic Archives have been produced. All have been written or co-written by Stanley Triggs, the first and longtime curator of the collection who retired in 1992. They include William Notman: The Stamp of a Studio (1986); William Notman's Studio: the Canadian Picture (1992); The Victoria Bridge: The Vital Link (1992) to which others contributed essays; The Composite Photographs of William Notman (1993); and The World of William Notman: the Nineteenth Century Through a Master Lens (1993), written with Roger Hall and Gordon Dodds.[15] Triggs's on-going project has been to research and write the histories of William Notman, his family, and his photography studio. In doing so, Triggs has worked to recreate a sense of the world of Montreal as suggested visually by the archives, a reading compatible with Harper's conclusion to Portrait of a Period.

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[15] Another exhibition and catalogue curated by Ann Thomas took up images from the Notman Archives and examined them for their influence on painting in Canada. See Fact and Fiction: Canadian Painting and Photography 1860-1900 (Montreal: McCord Museum, 1979). The most extensive and critical art historical work done on this period and which includes an account of the Notman studio's role is Dennis Reid, 'Our Own Country Canada.' Being an Account of the National Aspirations of the Principal Landscape Artists in Montreal and Toronto 1860-1890 (Ottawa: National Gallery of Canada, 1979).

The analyses of Collard, Harper, and Triggs demonstrate the difficulty of viewing photography archives. Archival activities of classification and clarification impose a contemporary order upon a massive amount of historical photographic material, isolating and highlighting particular images or groups of images. In doing so, they dislodge original and momentary ways and means in which images were seen upon their entry into the public visual domain and during their circulation there.

The section of the Notman Photographic Archives that is readily accessible to researchers today is laid out in vertical filing cabinets by photographic subject matter. Eight by ten-inch black and white reproduction prints of the original images are available in file folders for viewing. Research files containing historical documentation and information gathered by the Archives' staff are also available. The portrait albums where images from 1861 to 1935 were originally filed by the studio can be examined on microfilm. The negatives and picture books themselves are stored in an adjoining room and, for the researcher, are the tertiary sources of imagery, viewable with the aid of a curatorial assistant. This physical arrangement is important to the long-term well being of the materials; glass-plate negatives and picture albums over one hundred years old are fragile items. Viewing the archives in this controlled manner, however, is an activity distinct from that of re-viewing the Notman studio's output in its historical forms and locations and has a fundamental effect on the way the studio's production and its activities are represented and understood today.

The manner in which the Notman Photographic Archives has been arranged out of the historical materials at hand insists upon the social history of nineteenth-century Montreal as a topic of inquiry. The inquiry in turn is controlled by viewing the Archives' materials within the parameters of order imposed over the past twenty-five years. Consequently, catalogues and books produced by the Notman Photographic Archives present the collection as a rich visual "reflection," an illustrated history, of a period of progress and prosperity in which it was compiled. As Marta Braun writes:

> When we imagine what Canada looked like in the 19th century, we do so through William Notman's photographs. His grip on our historical imagination is due both to the sheer quantity of photographs made by his studio...and to their widespread use as illustrations in books about 19th-century North America....[H]ow crucial William Notman and the Notman studio have been to us in imagining our past.[16]

The problem then is how to penetrate the archival orderings constructed on top of nineteenth-century ways of collecting and sorting images so as to gain access to orderings of a nineteenth-century variety. The differences between the contemporary Notman Photographic Archives and the morgue of the Notman photographic studio that rests in the Archives and was the impetus for the Archives' formation can be determined and compared only after the archival orderings of today are traversed. It is crucial to recognize that the original meanings, contexts, and functions of the images produced by the studio in the second half of the nineteenth century are displaced by the exigencies of storage and the multiple usage made of historical photographs today.

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[16] Marta Braun, "Notman's grip on historical imagination," Globe and Mail (Toronto), 16 October 1993.

There is no question that the Confederation period in which the studio enjoyed its greatest prestige was an extraordinary moment of vision and accomplishment for those responsible, those with political and economic sway whose accomplishments were so proudly celebrated in 1967. What the Notman morgue offers are many more images than those usually chosen and with them an opportunity to reclaim the true richness of that history, to catch glimpses of the social underpinnings that made possible the realization of the dreams of the dominant players. Women's histories, for example, or those of labourers or Amerindians or non-western European immigrants can be critically explored through the morgue by those dedicated to analyses that take as their point of reference visual material evidence. While the images most often published are selected to demonstrate an illustrious nineteenth-century past, perhaps the true accomplishment of the Notman studio is the very richness of the archive that preserves remnants of many kinds of histories, resources that have barely been tapped. But these are evident only when one traverses the contemporary archives and gets into the picture books themselves.

Furthermore, we not only need to retrieve a sense of the variety of imagery and the means by which it was organized but also must investigate those orderings in a critical way if we are to gain insight into the function and effect of the photographs. We can then begin to recognize the subtlety and efficacy of the Notman studio's production and organization of photographic imagery as it continues to be used to construct for posterity an idea of late-nineteenth century Montreal as a society of "diversity without incongruity."

CHAPTER 2

THE NOTMAN ENTERPRISE

The photographic portrait was the premiere means of visual representation of the late nineteenth-century bourgeoisie. The Canadian manuscript censuses of 1860/61, 1871, and 1881 gathered under the rubric of "industrial establishments" the exertions of commercial photographers such as William Notman.[1] Such classification assigned photography and the photograph a particular and productive relationship with society. As a new industry and commodity in the equally new age of industrial capitalism in North America and Europe, an age that trumpeted the idea of progress and prosperity, the relationship was tightly entwined. Not only was a photograph manufactured; meaning was also made once that photograph entered circulation.

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[1] "Manuscript census" is the name given the original, handwritten forms filled in by census takers who visited each residence and business and wrote down the occupant's responses to the various categories of information required. These documents are kept at the National Archives of Canada in Ottawa. They have been microfilmed and distributed in libraries for the use of researchers. See T.A. Hillman, Catalogue of Census Returns on Microfilm, 1666-1881 (Ottawa: Public Archives of Canada, 1981). Tabulations of census information were compiled, printed, and distributed by the government in a Census Report following each census.

The period from 1856 to 1881, to which this thesis is devoted, marks the first twenty-five years of the William Notman studio enterprise. It also marks a time of tremendous change. These years not only coincide with the transformation of photography from an artisanal craft into an industrial process in North America and Western Europe, a shift to which the Notman studio contributed in substantial ways, they also encompass an historical moment marked by a transformation in the social, political, and economic relations of Montreal, the site of Notman's endeavours. Photography became a manufacturing and commercial enterprise that is as tightly entwined, if paradoxically less visible, as railway building in twentieth-century conceptions of industrializing Canada in the second half of the nineteenth century. The photography industry in Canada as elsewhere not only manufactured a product that visually represented its time, it also embodied and reproduced emergent industrial economic relations and conditions. Along the way it produced a massive visual archive that defines its era even as it ignites posterity's imagination. The Notman studio's images and practices are an extraordinary example of this engagement.[2]

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[2] In a crucial reformulation of methodological approaches to the critical analysis of photography, John Tagg argues that

The project in this chapter is to formulate an idea of the time and place in which the commercial practices of the Notman photography studio, accounted for in the census of 1871 as an "industrial establishment," took place and the nature of the Notman studio commodities that enjoyed tremendous popularity in a society that was shifting in elemental and complex ways in Montreal through this twenty-five year period.

I. The City

When William Notman opened shop in 1856, he did so in a city in transition. Three factors figure most prominently and give definition to this transition era. Firstly, Montreal's economic foundations broadened and deepened as industrial manufacturing, both small-scale and mass

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> Photography as such has no identity. Its status as a technology varies with the power relations which invest it. Its nature as a practice depends on the institutions and agents which define it and set it to work. Its function as a mode of cultural production is tied to definite conditions of existence, and its products are meaningful and legible only within the particular currencies they have. Its history has no unity. It is a flickering across a field of institutional spaces. It is this field we must study, not photography as such.

See John Tagg, The Burden of Representation: Essays on Photographies and Histories (London: Macmillan Education Ltd., 1988), 63.

production, replaced artisanal practices and joined the commercial enterprise sectors of trade and finance that had dominated economic expansion in the first half of the nineteenth century in Montreal. Major industrial sites that opened in the west end following completion of the Lachine Canal in the late 1840s included the Redpath Sugar Refinery, the Glenora Flour Mill, Macdonald Tobacco, Victoria Iron Works, and Canada Marine Works as well as paper and cotton mills, foundries, and metal, soap, and candleworks. A large shoe factory producing hundreds of pairs a day, James Linton & Company, was established during the 1850s as well.

The Notman photographic studio, also established in the 1850s, is an especially good example of a small-scale manufacturing enterprise that employed skilled photographers and artists as well as specialized labourers. Moreover, Notman's was part of the retail sector, selling finished goods to the public. Technological conditions of the medium informed not only the kinds of photographic commodities and markets that the industry could produce and serve, such as the carte-de-visite and, in the late 1860s, the cabinet portrait as well as the stereographic view, but also the working conditions of the industry's labour force, the means of organizing the commodities for sale, wages, prices, marketing, and other business practices (and practicalities). These are the details taken up for examination in the following chapters.

Secondly, with the ongoing retooling of the economic framework came new employment and investment opportunities in Montreal and subsequent demographic shifts in class, ethnic, and gender placements as these opportunities were taken up. Bourgeoisie, petit-bourgeoisie, and working class divisions that crossed ethnic and gender lines took form; French-Canadian migration from rural areas increased while British immigration diminished and the City of Montreal annexed predominantly French-speaking municipalities so that the English-speaking majority that had emerged in Montreal in the early 1830s and had been sustained with heavy immigration from famine-stricken Ireland as well as from the United Kingdom, had given way to a French-speaking majority by 1871; and women and children entered the paid labour force alongside men in significant numbers.

As class structures shifted so too did living and working conditions for all groups. The extraordinary fortunes accumulated, consolidated, and dispersed by the mainly Scottish-Canadian "merchant princes" of the New Town area of St. Antoine ward north of Dorchester (an area that became known as the Square Mile sometime after World War I) are as startling as the poverty and squalor endured by Irish immigrant day labourers and their families south of

Dorchester in an area known as Griffintown in Montreal's industrial west end.[3] By 1866, such changes in economic relations had a significant enough impact on the private relations of citizens in Canada East (Quebec) to require revisions to the Civil Code of that province so as to clarify and consolidate contract, commercial, and common law. As the discussion in Chapter Six demonstrates, women's social relations specifically were reconstituted by the new Code which, despite both traditional rights and significant representation in the paid labour force in the mid-1860s, denied women economic or political autonomy.

Finally, the economic relations of the provinces of British America with both England and the United States had changed between 1846 and 1866. The repeal of the British Corn Laws in 1846 had ended Montreal's favoured trading status in London. A free trade agreement with the United States, covering the flow of natural materials and use of one another's transportation systems was reached in 1854 but allowed to lapse by the American government in 1866. Partly in response to these market conditions, and spurred by the ambitions of industrialists, politicians, and entrepreneurs in the Canadas, two Atlantic provinces, New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, joined Upper and Lower Canada on 1 July 1867. The confederation was expanded in the 1870s to include Prince Edward Island, British Columbia, and Manitoba. Montreal, the financial and industrial centre of the new state of Canada, had, however, failed to consolidate its power by being named political capital, a status lost to Ottawa.

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[3] This contrast is made clear by a comparative reading of Donald MacKay's The Square Mile: Merchant Princes of Montreal (Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre, 1987) and Bettina Bradbury's Working Families: Age, Gender, and Daily Survival in Industrializing Montreal (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1993).

An idea of the transition that Montreal was experiencing can be gleaned from one of the Notman studio's earliest surviving view photographs, Montreal from Above the Reservoir, produced c.1859 (Figure 3). The photograph is a mammoth plate view (18 x 22 inches) made on Mount Royal and looking south over the city to the far shore of the St. Lawrence River. The panorama is bound in the foreground by the McTavish water reservoir above McGill College (the Arts Building is just below the reservoir) and in the background by the nearly completed Victoria Bridge linking rail lines on the island of Montreal to those on the St. Lawrence's south shore. The view presents resonating juxtapositions of tradition and technology, progress and prosperity as principal features of Montreal's urban fabric. The prominence and architectural variety of churches signals the modern mixing of the three main ethnic groups in the city whose communities are represented by their places of religious congregation: the French Canadians of Notre Dame Church above the harbour, the Irish Canadians of St. Patrick's Church on Dorchester Boulevard, and the British Canadians of Christ Church (Anglican) Cathedral on St. Catherine. Coupled with McGill College, these architectural landmarks denote the presence of an established, "civilized" culture. Absent are visual references to Amerindian Canadians whose communities were confined to reserves outside urban borders. Industrial capitalism in Montreal is clearly conceived and enacted as a European-Canadian venture.

Urban infrastructure is an equally important facet. The centrepiece of the image is the water reservoir that signals the modernization of services and the expansion of the city. An aqueduct, begun in 1852, had assured water service for a new reservoir on Mount Royal that was first filled in 1856. The availability of water, coupled with new wealth flowing from growth in trade, commerce, and industry in Montreal in the early 1850s, encouraged the well-to-do to move to newly opened suburbs north of the Notre Dame-Great St. James business district above the harbour. This movement provided room for business to centralize and expand in the "Old Town."[4] Across the background of the image stretches the Victoria Bridge, the epitome of modernity (and British industrial brilliance) in 1860, its extraordinary length emphasized by its prominence in the view despite the distance. Between the reservoir and the bridge lies a well-populated and orderly city, its streets straight and intersecting at right angles and lined by square buildings with sloped roofs and tidy facades integrated among mature trees. The Victoria Bridge is intersected by the scaffolded steeple of Christ Church Cathedral, a compositional device that both visually solidifies the image and underscores the view as that of a dynamic, diversified, and prosperous society, one not incidentally associated here with the British-Canadian community, especially in contrast to the neo-Gothic references of Notre Dame.

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[4] David B. Hanna, "Creation of an Early Victorian Suburb in Montreal," in Cities and Urbanization: Canadian

In 1857, The Stranger's Guide Through the City of Montreal had rendered a comparable image of the city that stressed its architecture, infrastructure, and prosperity:

> Montreal is not only the chief commercial city of British North America, but it is distinguished for its beautiful spacious public buildings, its churches, educational and other buildings, its railway stations, its water power, and for its picturesque vicinitage. And there is every probability that from its central position and other advantages, it will be selected as the permanent seat of Government. The city is well supplied with pure water, and its streets are brilliantly lighted with gas. Go where you will you behold domes and spires,

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Historical Perspectives. ed. Gilbert A. Stelter. (Toronto: Copp Clark Pitman Ltd., 1990), 44.

> educational institutions and huge factories towering to the skies, all indications of the enterprise, industry and prosperity of its inhabitants. The handsome buildings and residences which now adorn the slope of the mountain, overlooking the St. Lawrence, are not indeed to be surpassed for elegance and beauty by structures of more pretension in older countries.[5]

In 1861, the Traveller's Guide to Montreal added that

> The city of Montreal is the largest and most populous city in British North America. In approaching the city from the river, the traveller is struck with the peculiar beauty of the large cut-stone buildings which front on the majestic River St. Lawrence, on whose banks they are reared, resembling, in their solid masonry and elegance, the buildings of European cities. The great Victoria Bridge, under whose arches the steamers pass on their way to the city, excites the wonder and astonishment of all. The wharves are superior to any on this continent, while the local advantages of the city for trade and commerce (being at the head of ship navigation) are unsurpassed, affording strong inducements to capitalists for investing their funds.[6]

The themes taken up in these passages focus on Montreal's expansion and wealth, manifested in established and solid buildings of trade, industry, education and religion, transportation and industrial structures, and echo those elaborated in 1857 in a document submitted by the City of Montreal to the Secretary of State for the Colonies in London. The Statement of the Claims of the City of Montreal to be Selected as the Future Capital of Canada cited among Montreal's most desirable characteristics its central position, accessible to inhabitants of both Canada East and Canada West; its water and railway links; its status as Canada's "commercial emporium" and a centre of manufacturing; its institutions and interest in literature, science, and the fine arts; its natural advantages as a position for military defense; and finally, its large and "mixed" population, estimated at 80,000 and almost equally divided between "Franco and Anglo-Canadians," most of whom, it was claimed, spoke both languages "correctly and familiarly." This latter characteristic was argued to be especially important because

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[5] The Stranger's Guide Through the City of Montreal... (Montreal: Saltes & Ross, 1857), 8.

[6] Traveller's Guide to Montreal (Montreal: M. Longmoore & Co., 1861), n.p.

> [t]he opportunities afforded to the Members of the Legislature, in Montreal, for social intercourse with its intelligent and cultivated Citizens, of both origins, will tend more than any other means to extinguish those national antipathies and prejudices from which Canada has already suffered so much; and such harmonious intercourse will, no doubt, produce those feelings of mutual forbearance, good will and esteem for each other, so necessary to the welfare and advancement of both races.[7]

The records of the census of the Canadas of 1861 confirm that industrializing Montreal was, as claimed, unmistakably cosmopolitan.[8] In 1861, the City of Montreal had a population of 90,323. According to census records,

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[7] The Statement of the Claims of the City of Montreal to be selected as the Future Capital of Canada (Montreal: James Starke & Co., 1857), 17.

[8] See "Table No. I - Lower Canada Personal Census by Origin" in Census Report of the Canadas, 1860-61 (Quebec: S.B. Foote, 1863-64), 4-5.

48% of that population, 43,509 people, were French Canadian; 25% (22,226) were people born in Canada but not of French origin (that is, descendants of mainly Irish and British immigrants that had arrived in substantial numbers from 1815 onward); 16% (14,179) were immigrants born in Ireland; 5% immigrants born in England and Wales (4,293); 4% (3,195) Scottish immigrants; and the remaining 3% (2,926) were immigrants from the United States, the Atlantic provinces, Europe, Asia, and the Caribbean.

By 1871, the scales had tipped and 53% (56,856) of the 107,297 Montrealers enumerated for the census that year were French Canadian; 24% (25,376) were of Irish origin or descent; 12% English (12,885) and Welsh (65); 9% (9,895) Scottish; and the remaining 2% (2,220) were of Aboriginal or other origin.[9] (No aboriginal Canadians were recorded in Montreal in 1861. Twenty-two were counted in 1871.)

Montreal was divided into the same nine wards for the two censuses (Appendix A) and while some wards were predominantly populated by a group of one particular origin, for example, French Canadians in the west end ward of St. Jacques (St. James) or Irish in the east end ward of St. Anne's (Ste.-Anne); no ward was segregated. Every ethnic group with more than seventy-five people was represented in all nine wards. Furthermore, just as each ward comprised members of virtually all ethnic and both main language groups, so too did each class. While wealthy Scottish-Canadian families with vast fortunes based on commercial and industrial investment dominated one end of the economic spectrum and French-Canadian and Irish unskilled labourers the other end, class membership was neither determined nor limited by ethnicity. Montreal's petit-bourgeoisie was a mix of French and British Canadians although there were comparatively few French-Canadian entrepreneurs. Their numbers were instead concentrated as lawyers, doctors, intellectuals, and politicians.

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[9] See "Table III - Origins of the People" in Census of Canada, 1870-71 (Ottawa, I.B. Taylor [&] Maclean, Roger & Co., 1873-78), 288-289.

Where and how individuals and families made their livings, as well as their ability to pay, had as much influence on where they lived in Montreal as their ethnic or language group. For example, the majority of wage labourers, a sector that grew throughout this period, lived within walking distance of their place of employment. On a small scale, employees of the Notman studio, whose experiences will be examined in later chapters, generally lived within blocks of the Bleury Street studio. In comparison, vast numbers of Irish labourers and their families - a third of the Irish population in Montreal - settled in Griffintown in St. Anne's ward between the docks and Point St. Charles, the construction site of the Victoria Bridge that employed many of these labourers. Griffintown was a mix of multifamily tenement housing and factories for light and, increasingly, heavy industry such as railway construction. This area, like the ward of St. Jacques in the east end, populated mainly by working class French Canadians, flooded every spring with the breakup of ice on the St. Lawrence. Sanitation was grossly inadequate as well and contributed to high rates of disease and death.[10] St. Antoine, north of St. Anne's, and St. Lawrence (St. Laurent) to the west where more small business and commercial enterprises were located were both about two-thirds English, Scottish, and Irish origin and one-third French Canadian. The petit-bourgeoisie were more prominent in these wards - entrepreneurs, professionals, intellectuals, artisans, and clerks. The Notman photographic studio on Bleury Street, the main north-south artery in St. Lawrence ward, was located two blocks from the commercial centre of Montreal on St. James and Notre Dame streets where financial institutions were headquartered. Bleury Street itself was changing from a residential neighbourhood into a business site for artisans and merchants.

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[10] MacKay, Square Mile, 128-129; and, Bradbury, Working Families, 72-74.

On the west side of St. Lawrence-the Main, the boundary of the wards of St. Lawrence and St. Louis (St. Lewis), ethnic distributions shifted to a majority of French Canadians by a factor of about 3 to 1. This ward was a mix of petit-bourgeoisie and working class many of whom were employed in the textile industry that was growing there. And finally, the investment barons of mainly Scottish origins who were transforming the mercantile economy of Montreal to industrial capitalism established a residential enclave in St. Antoine above Dorchester Street on the south slope of Mount Royal.

It was from here, on Mount Royal, that Notman made his c.1859 view Montreal from Above the Reservoir. It is a panorama that embraces all of these areas and their diversity, from Bonsecours Market on the harbour below the commercial Old Town to Point St. Charles in the industrial west end. Yet, it is a view of Montreal that was made from the vantage point of the most privileged of Montrealers, those with the financial and political muscle to shape and drive not only the city but also British America.

Although Montreal in 1860-61 was indeed a cosmopolitan entity, it was one stamped with a decidedly British accent. Events of the summer of 1860 make this abundantly clear. In December 1859, the completion of the Victoria Bridge, backed by British investors and designed by British engineers, was an international engineering triumph. The magnitude of the accomplishment was such that the Grand Trunk Railway and the government of the Canadas made the unprecedented gesture of inviting Queen Victoria to travel to Montreal to inaugurate the bridge. Although the Queen declined to make the trip herself, the following summer the nineteen-year-old Prince of Wales, later Edward VII, journeyed in her place on the first official royal tour to a British colony.

The decorations and graphic imagery produced for and about the Prince of Wales's visit were vast in number and widespread in distribution. Newspapers in major cities in British North America as well as in London and New York published engraved images representing the decorations and festivities that were mounted in the Prince's honour. Queen Victoria, as well as the Prince of Wales, received copies of the newspapers reporting on the tour.[11] On 27 August 1860, the Montreal Gazette, for example, published a large engraved image spanning two pages titled "View of Montreal" (Figure 4). This engraving was the centrepiece of a special issue published by the Gazette in honour of the arrival of the Prince of Wales at Montreal two days earlier. The wood engraving was based on Notman's photograph, Montreal from Above the Reservoir.[12]

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[11] "The British Provinces: He Reads the Papers Regularly," Harper's Weekly, 3 September 1860, 567.

In addition, the Notman photographic studio made and sold a series of nine stereographic views of the triumphal arches raised along the route of welcome that the Prince of Wales travelled upon disembarking in Montreal.[13] The bilingual inscriptions of the arches, one side in English and the other in French, declared that the proud and loyal citizens who had raised the arches were united in their dedication to the British crown and presented Montreal as a centre of finance, trade, communication, and transportation. Most apparent in the magnificent spectacle of the week-long visit were the substantial financial resources and skilled labour pool available in Montreal that not only produced magnificent pomp and pageantry for the royal visit but manufactured the modern engineering wonder of the Victoria Bridge.

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[12] The engraved version is attributed to a Notman photograph engraved by "Walker." John H. Walker was listed as a wood engraver with a studio at 70 Great St. James Street in Mackay's Montreal Directory 1860-61 ("Corrected in May and June 1860") (Montreal: Owler and Stevenson, 1860), 216.

The engraving is not, however, a mirror image of the Notman view which does not have as wide a panoramic scope as the engraving. The most striking dissimilarity is in the position of the twin-towered Notre Dame Church relative to the Arts Building of McGill College (the building with a cupola just south of the reservoir). Whereas the church is well east of the Arts Building in Notman's photographs, it is centred in the engraved compositions to the east of the building. A viewpoint at the eastern edge of the reservoir, from which Notman may have made the missing, southeast-looking stereograph, might account for this shift. The scene is also updated by the absence of scaffolding at Christ Church Cathedral that is visible in the photographs. The compression of the depth of field in the engraving, however, is a faithful rendering of that produced by the camera lens.

Notman's also made two stereographic views of this site - one southwest, the other southeast. Of these, only a single frame of the southwest version survives in the Notman Photographic Archives today. The two stereographs are described in Notman's view catalogue as #449 "Montreal, from the Reservoir, looking south west" - this negative number is on the print in the archives today - and #450 "Montreal, from the Reservoir, looking south east." See [William] Notman, ...Victoria Bridge, Niagara Falls, Principal Cities and Places of Interest Throughout Canada, [c.1861], 22. An original edition of this catalogue is in the collection of the Metropolitan Toronto Library. A photocopy is on file at the Notman Photographic Archives in Montreal.

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[13] See Colleen Skidmore, "Concordia Salus: Triumphal Arches at Montreal, 1860," Journal of Canadian Art History XIX (1998), 86-112. The triumphal arch, a European imperial tradition, was a popular motif in late-nineteenth century Canada. The Renaissance practice of raising temporary triumphal arches to mark a royal entry was revived in 1842 in Scotland for a visit of Queen Victoria and Prince Albert. Triumphal arches were popular in British royal entries until the end of the century. These entries were usually public holidays organized by municipal governments as was the case in Montreal. Examples of arches raised for visits by royalty or the Governor General in towns and cities between Victoria and St. John's through the turn of the century spot the Canadian Illustrated News and photographic archives. The Illustrated London News is a good visual source for arches raised in Europe and the British colonies.

II. The Commodity

The entrepreneurial niche that William Notman claimed in Montreal was his for the taking in 1856. That year only one photographer was listed in the Montreal city directory: Thomas Coffin Doane who had established a studio specializing in daguerreotype portraits in Montreal in 1846. The small number of Doane's works that are known today demonstrate that he was a skilled portraitist, technically and aesthetically, whose clients included Montreal and British America's elite such as Governor General Lord Elgin (1848) and Louis Joseph Papineau (c.1851). The daguerreotype portrait and Doane's vocation, however, were rendered obsolete by the carte-de-visite paper portrait that erupted in popularity among European and North American consumers in 1860 and became the mainstay of the Notman studio in 1861. In 1860, the English photographer J.E. Mayall produced an album of carte-de-visite photographs of the royal family that purportedly fired the public's interest in such a way that middle-class demand for cartes, both of their own likenesses and those of family, acquaintances, and celebrities, pushed commercial portraiture to the fore of photographic production, exploiting and realizing the massive commercial potential of the medium. In 1865, when Doane retired from photography and left Montreal, Notman's, whose fortunes by then rested heavily on the carte-de-visite portrait, was one of North America's busiest photography studios.

The Industrial Schedule of the census of April 1871 demonstrates that the Notman studio was clearly without peer in Montreal, employing more workers and claiming production value of the previous twelve months equal to that of the other eleven studios combined (Appendix B). That year, eight studios were clustered in the wards of the Old Town area (those of Louis Octave Cantin, James Inglis, J.G. Parks, William Sawyer, O. Desmarais, Jean Seveille, Henri Grenier, and George Levine); one in St. Jacques (Alphonse Chapleau), two in St. Lawrence ward (John O'Reilly and Notman), and one in St. Antoine (Alexander Henderson).[14] Notman's studio was the largest, employing fifty-one workers at the time the census was taken and claiming production for the previous twelve-month period valued at $70,000. James Inglis operated the second largest studio in terms of employees and production value (eighteen employees, $22,000 inventory). At the low end of the scale were Louis Octave Cantin with one employee and production value of $1,375; George Levine, one employee and $1,196 inventory; and

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[14] The census does not report on the national origins of the proprietors. Given time, these could be traced by combing the handwritten manuscript census. Based on an analysis of the names, it appears that at least five were French Canadian: Louis Octave Cantin, O. Desmarais, Jean Seveille, Henri Grenier, and Alphonse Chapleau.

Alphonse Chapleau who employed two workers and claimed a value of $1,000.

Because of the absence of early photographic materials and documentation, a result in part of the non-reproducible photographic technology of the time, the products and practices of the first five years of the Notman studio - the kinds of photographs produced, client names, prices, staff, wages, and sales - are not as well known as those after 1861 when the wet collodion process meant that the studio had to begin to carry a stock of negatives and positives for which formal cataloguing practices, the picture books, were implemented. In contrast, the one-of-a-kind daguerreotypes and ambrotypes that Notman's had produced prior to this time left few traces of their manufacture in the studio morgue. Instead, a newspaper advertisement of 1859 offering daguerreotypes, ambrotypes, and stereographic portraits and views in a variety of sizes, "From Full Length Life Size to the smallest produced," either untouched or coloured with oils, watercolour, or crayons, as well as a few surviving samples, such as a handcoloured ambrotype portrait of Fanny Notman, c.1858 (Figure 5), give witness to the types of commodities first manufactured in the Notman studio. The notice also commends the work of "the various artists in his employ," suggesting that the studio was something more than a single photographer's concern.[15] It is not until after 1861, when a wages book was opened, that the exact size of the studio's labour pool can be ascertained.

By 1856, when William Notman entered business, the photography industry had achieved a vigorous market for stereographic view photographs. Collecting stereographs was becoming ever more popular amongst the middle-classes in Western Europe and North America. The popularity of this pastime grew through the 1850s and it was within this photographic market context and demand, in part, that the Notman studio was established. Notman's earliest known large-scale commission, one that no doubt gave the firm a solid footing because of its size and the widespread publicity surrounding it, was received in 1858 from the Grand Trunk Railway for a series of views documenting the construction of the Victoria Bridge, a contract that lasted at least until the completion of the bridge in December 1859. The Victoria Bridge photographs were reproduced (as chromolithographs) in the report on construction of the bridge by the engineer, James Hodges.[16] The series of fifty-five stereographs was also available for purchase at the Notman studio.

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[15] "Photography, W. Notman, Artist," in Harper et al., Portrait of a Period, n.p. The source of the advertisement is not attributed. Stanley Triggs speculates that the studio also may have made some calotypes because of a reference to such in a letter written by Alice Notman to her mother dated 19 April 1857. See Triggs, Stamp of a Studio, 20.

During this same period, the Notman studio was also amassing a portfolio of stereographic landscape views from around British America. Within five years of opening, Notman was able to publish a twenty-two page catalogue, _[...]Victoria Bridge, Niagara Falls, Principal Cities and Places of Interest Throughout Canada_, listing 567 views available for purchase at his studio that covered sites from the town of London in Canada West to the Saguenay River in Canada East. Views of the human-built elements of the industrial sectors of British America - the mills and factories of the hinterlands and the cities, the transportation lines between the two, the engineering spectacle of the Victoria Bridge, and business, civic, and residential buildings of Montreal and Quebec City - share space in the Notman sales catalogue with stereographs of the North American continent's scenic wonders: Niagara Falls, the Hudson River, the Saguenay River. In the absence of a picture book filing system prior to the carte-de-visite imperative, the view catalogue stands as a record of what the Notman studio produced with the goal of multiple sales to the public between 1856 and 1861. The catalogue demonstrates the studio's response to consumer demands for photographic views, especially stereographs. It also stands as evidence of what may have been considered desirable views, the ones that had been worthy of photographing and were, in turn, worthy of purchase and viewing.

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[16] James Hodges, _Construction of the Great Victoria Bridge in Canada_ (London: John Weale, 1860).

Notman's catalogue represents one of the earliest methods by which the studio organized its inventory for marketing and sales purposes. The views listed were firstly arranged by geographic location or subject matter. An arrangement of the Victoria Bridge construction photographs make up the first fifty-five listings, for example. All images of Niagara Falls are catalogued together; images of Montreal follow one another, as do images of Toronto and Quebec City. The entries are titled descriptively according to the view and numbered consecutively.

One unusual entry is a complete collection of the "Photographs of Canada" included in a presentation portfolio given to the Prince of Wales in 1861 as a souvenir of his visit. Although the portfolio has disappeared from the royal collection, a replica was made and retained by the Notman studio in Montreal (Figure 6). Much of this collection, known today as the Maple Box portfolio, is made up of the individual views listed in the catalogue. It rests today in the Notman archives and contains 317 photographs.[17] The stereographic views in the Maple Box portfolio are readily cross-referenced with Notman's catalogue. The numbers inscribed on many of the prints match the catalogue listings. However, the Maple Box portfolio, produced for other than cataloguing or file purposes, is the only remaining collection of images gathered and organized by the Notman studio prior to the introduction of the picture books filing system in 1861.

In contrast, at the point of sale, Notman view photographs were purchased and dispersed in an untraceable way by a specific but individually unidentifiable clientele: those with the interest, inclination, and cash to acquire them. Which of the works in the Notman catalogue were most popular, who bought them, and how many years they were available for purchase is nowhere recorded. The catalogue, especially when accompanied by the Maple Box portfolio, allows us to know what was gathered for sale and one manner in which the Notman studio's commodities were organized for business purposes. Consumers' responses, however, cannot be as finely traced.

While stereographic views made up a substantial portion of the Notman enterprise between 1856 and 1861, the level of portrait production cannot be estimated. There is no doubt, however, that after 1861 portraiture was by far and away the major occupation of the studio.[18] The introduction that year of a photograph filing system, based on the carte-de-visite format and the photograph albums that had been invented to store and display cartes, laid the foundations for the systematic and orderly accumulation of a record of the production of the Notman studio for the next seventy-four years. Carte-de-visite production was augmented by the cabinet portrait in 1867. That year the Philadelphia Photographer, North America's foremost photographic trade journal in the 1860s, introduced the 4 x 5.5 inch cabinet portrait format (printed from a 5 x 7 inch glass negative) by featuring a Notman cabinet print in its January edition. Editor Edward L. Wilson described it as

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[17] See Colleen Skidmore, "'All that is interesting in the Canadas': William Notman's Maple Box Portfolio of Stereographic Views, 1860," Journal of Canadian Studies 32 (Winter 1997-98), 69-90.

> a specimen of photographic taste, magnificence, and excellence, such as is rarely met with. It is one of Mr. Notman's first efforts at the new cabinet size, and so successful and so suggestive at the present time, that he expressed a willingness to print it for us.[19]

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[18] Although portraiture remained the mainstay of the studio's endeavours throughout its existence, William Notman himself made a name for the studio in composite photograph production of both portrait groups and genre scenes after 1870. See Stanley G. Triggs, The Composite Photographs of William Notman (Montreal: McCord Museum of Canadian History, 1994).

[19] "Our Picture," Philadelphia Photographer 4 (January 1867): 31. Edward Wilson and William Notman were partners, with others, in the Centennial Photographic Company, the official photographers of the 1876 Centennial

In 1869, Wilson reported that "No one has done more to popularize and dignify this beautiful size than Mr. Notman. He was the first to take it up and push it...."[20] The cabinet, also known as an album photograph, had been introduced in 1863 in England and in 1864 in France prior to its 1867 début in North America under Notman's auspices. Sales of cartes-de-visite steadily declined after the initial flurry of sittings between 1860 and 1865.[21] Sitting for and purchasing a supply of cartes appears to have been something done by each person only occasionally. The larger cabinet format was promoted to reinvigorate the market and entice earlier clientele to return for a new likeness with a different purpose and presentation.

The picture book system and its contents offer extraordinary historical evidence about the practices of a large nineteenth-century photography studio as well as a visual panorama of the people who constituted the

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Exhibition in Philadelphia. See Hall et al., William Notman, 43-46.

[20] "Our Picture," Philadelphia Photographer 6 (October 1869), 352. The introduction of the cabinet portrait is the subject of Andrew Birrell, "The Cabinet Portrait," Photo Canada (November/December 1977), 29-31.

[21] A study of the numbers of cartes-de-visite purchased by one sitter over a specified period, such as a decade, to determine consumer patterns has yet to be undertaken. The index books of the Notman studio make such a study viable.

cosmopolitan, industrializing time and place in which it operated. The Notman portrait morgue is part and parcel of a society that was in the throes of re-identifying itself primarily as a political and economic unit with production as its basis: the picture books, like the catalogue and Maple Box portfolio that preceded them, are a testament to the quantity and quality of production as well as to the desirability of the commodity. All three speak of the nature of the Notman enterprise as one of size, energy, and ambition, much as Collard and Harper recognized and reiterated a century later in Portrait of a Period.

III. Conclusion

Why did the Notman studio meet with such success? No doubt Notman's photographic and business skills, as well as those of his partners and staff, were essential to the studio's achievements. A larger part of the answer, however, must be sought in photography's industrial character. One of the industry's defining characteristics, made possible only by the technological innovation of the wet-plate negative, was its mass-production capabilities and consequent factory-line nature of manufacturing. In the late 1850s, commercial photography emerged as an industrial type of business by employing labourers and producing large volumes of goods and multiple copies of one thing.

What was unique to the photography industry, however, was the way it intersected with the multiple layers and components of a society, in this case in Montreal; its product resonated in a way that, say, railway spikes or mass-produced shoes could not. The subjective nature intrinsic to the photograph, its association with the "real" that gives it extraordinary value and attention, means that the success of the Notman endeavour points beyond the simple acumen of one man to the social demand for the product and its crucial role in rendering and making sense of its time.

The photograph was intrinsic to the way in which this society was able to see and picture itself because the photograph was itself of its time: technological, industrial, "modern." Much like the grand engineering accomplishment of the Victoria Bridge which both drew upon and displayed Montreal's strong financial and cultural ties to Britain, the astute use of photographic imagery, purchased enthusiastically by the Montreal middle class and promoted by William Notman in London periodicals and newspapers, demonstrated a modern and progressive society. Furthermore, collodion/albumen technology made it possible for the bourgeoisie and petit-bourgeoisie to produce and reproduce themselves visually in a convincing manner. The success of their endeavours in the industrial and commercial economy in which they invested time, capital, identity and reputation, was visualized and confirmed readily, succinctly, and convincingly by the photograph. As such, the photographic portrait was the ideal vehicle for enunciating and displaying, in terms of class, gender, ethnicity and race, the social identities of an individual or group. The photograph and the way the industry mobilized, marketed, manufactured, and organized it, suggests that the industry and the photograph functioned to manufacture a "likeness" of the time that people could search out in the image - not only to find what they were looking for but to define what it was they needed to see; it did not mirror them so much as articulate or demonstrate and construct certain values and expectations.

CHAPTER 3

THE PICTURE BOOKS

The Notman picture books were established in 1861 as an orderly and coherent means of keeping track of the studio's negative inventory. A customer could select a photograph for purchase from those displayed in the albums; the studio could retrieve with ease the right negative for printing. Today, what originally functioned as a system for doing business efficiently has been transformed into an historical document. That is not to say that these are mutually exclusive functions. On the contrary, what I wish to establish is that the manner in which the picture books were organized circumscribes the historical knowledge that we can obtain from these images today. The method of organization foregrounds some information while it omits other. Inclusions as well as absences, details as well as generalities determine the kind of knowledge and conclusions that we are able to formulate about a subject, such as Montreal's social history for example. Ultimately, the picture books signal the emergence of a means of organizing knowledge.

Notman and his studio were historical participants who visually defined an era in a manner that the 1967 exhibition, Portrait of a Period, ultimately sought to reconstitute. The origins of the Notman morgue are imbedded in the circumstances, needs, and values of the industrializing society that it served. If the meaning of the original organization of the images, which has not been examined to date, is not considered when reusing the images as historic artifacts, the value of the Notman morgue as a site of historical study is restrained, reduced to an accumulation of the visual detritus of a past (and passed) culture and time.

I. The Problem of the Archives

A discrete photographic morgue has rarely been taken up as an object of analysis. Allan Sekula's 1983 examination of the mid-twentieth century negative archives of the Leslie Shedden studio of Glace Bay, Nova Scotia stands today as the singular critical work in this area. Sekula prefaces his analysis of Shedden mining photographs by reflecting upon the nature of photographic archives and how an archive could be appropriately explained, tested, or reassembled in the confines of a book. The problem of disassembling and reordering is one faced at the outset of this study, as well. This problem confronts and confounds any such undertaking because study of a studio morgue requires that the images be regathered, sorted, and viewed in a manner removed from the original situation of their production and reception. The massive annals of photographs left by nineteenth-century sitters, photographers, and collectors seem by their nature disordered and dispersed; so too, it would seem, are the original meanings of their images. Sekula calls this

> a loss, an abstraction from the complexity and richness of use, a loss of context. Thus the specificity of "original" uses and meanings can be avoided, and even made invisible, when photographs are selected from an archive and reproduced in a book....So new meanings come to supplant old ones, with the archive serving as a kind of "clearing house" of meaning.[1]

The intact carte-de-visite picture books, index books, wages books, and negative files of the Notman studio, surprisingly scarce artifacts of the mammoth nineteenth-century photographic industry, offer a means to avoid some of the abstractions that arise from working outside a photograph's original context. Yet "context" itself is a concept that often suffers from abstraction because the original or primary sites and conditions of reception often elude historians' research efforts. "Context" must frequently be extrapolated or hypothesized. No matter how carefully done, there remains an uneasy sense that the puzzle, being incomplete, is thus inadvertently misconstrued. The Notman picture books, in contrast, offer a precise (although still not complete) context for the original site and manner of display and viewing of the studio's production against which abstractions can be tested.[2] With these books, we have a rare example of a picture morgue (or archives) that functioned actively even as it was being preserved.

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[1] Allan Sekula, "Photography Between Labour and Capital" in Mining Photographs and Other Pictures: A Selection from the Negative Archives of Shedden Studio, Glace Bay, Cape Breton, 1948-1969 (Halifax: Nova Scotia School of Art and Design, 1983), eds. Benjamin Buchloh and Robert Wilkie, 194. (Sekula's emphasis.)

Sekula's most important insight about photographic archives, for our purposes, is that "[w]e might even argue that archival ambitions and procedures are intrinsic to photographic practice."[3] Archival ambitions and procedures are not usually attended to, however, when a photographer's or a studio's work is taken up for study. How and why the picture books of the Notman studio took the form they did and to what effect - to explore the nature of archival practice in one photographic practice - is the problem faced here.

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[2] The picture books offer one picture of conditions of reception of early commercial photography. This study will facilitate future work on the variable conditions of reception outside the studio.

[3] Sekula, "Photography," 194.

II. The Picture Books

The Notman studio's picture books present the business of making photographic images. Between 1861 and 1935, nearly 400,000 negatives were exposed and recorded in the albums and index books. From the time that Notman's photograph filing system was begun in 1861 until the late 1870s, every negative made and retained by the studio, whether portrait or view - the two primary categories describing photographic subject matter at the time - was numbered and filed chronologically. A print with the negative number and a descriptive label, such as a name, was also filed chronologically in carte-de-visite picture books that were maintained as the master catalogue. Each image was cross-referenced in an alphabetical index book that recorded the print's title and negative number. The carte-de-visite format (2.5 x 3.5 inches), by far the most popular of the time, allowed for up to sixteen images per page, with four rows of four photographs each (Figures 7 and 8). Both sides of the album pages were often used so that up to thirty-two spaces in all are visible at a single glance. When a larger negative was exposed, the negative number and description were noted, but a blank spot was left in the carte-de-visite book. The larger format, such as "8 x 10," "5 x 7," "Cabinet," or "Stereo" was written across the empty space. A proof of the photograph was then pasted in the secondary albums that were kept for each format size. For example, on the cabinet pages, four prints could be fitted to each side; eight were then viewed at a glance. For this reason, the negative numbers, while chronological, were not sequential in the larger-format books.

The first 100,000 photographs in the picture books were called Series I. In 1874, when 100,000 was reached, numbering started over again with Series II which, by 1935, when the studio and its morgue were sold separately, included 295,438 photographs. In all, more than two hundred picture albums were produced and survive in the collection of the Notman Photographic Archives. All forty-two companion index books remain as well. The cabinet books, however, have been dismantled by the archives staff.

As for negatives, unlike many studios, Notman's retained rather than recycled its glass plates. The sheer weight and storage space required to keep glass plates forced most studios to discard old negatives. Many of the Notman negatives have been lost over the years to breakage and fire but about 200,000 are left in the Notman Photographic Archives. Nevertheless, there is one large gap in the collection: no stereograph negatives and very few original stereograph prints prior to 1861, other than those in the Maple Box portfolio, remain. Their fate is unknown.

Little work has been done on the organizational systems of nineteenth-century photography studios in North America and Europe. The absence of such work makes it impossible as yet to establish the origins and spread of the picture book filing system of cartes-de-visite and cabinet portraits. That an album system was standard is suggested by a comparison of the few histories of studios that have been written, such as those of A.A.E. Disdéri and Mathew Brady.[4] These studies for the most part mention picture books but only in passing. Furthermore, the albums from these studios have not survived intact and in one public collection readily accessible to researchers in the manner of the Notman books. Disdéri's Parisian client register, for example, is in a private collection while his studio's twenty-six albums are scattered in private collections or in some cases have been taken apart. Disdéri's register, which corresponds with Notman's index books, is a single volume of

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[4] Elizabeth Anne McCauley has established that albums were in use in France from at least 1854 on the basis of a comment in Ernest Lacan, "Les Garde-vues artistiques de M. Plumier," La Lumière (16 December 1854), 198. Cited in Elizabeth Anne McCauley, A.A.E. Disdéri and the Carte De Visite Portrait Photograph (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985), 46.

394 pages.[5] Like Notman's, it is divided alphabetically, listing sitters' surnames and negative numbers. Unlike Notman's, the listings sometimes include titles, descriptive remarks, and addresses. Another feature of Disdéri's register that differs from Notman's is that it also contains a chronological listing of negative numbers that are dated according to month or year. Notman's studio prefaced its picture albums with starting dates instead. Disdéri's picture books were, like Notman's, arranged chronologically by negative number. However, instead of individual carte proofs being pasted and labelled, full uncut sheets were entered and labelled with one negative number.

Mathew Brady's books from his New York and Washington studios experienced a somewhat different fate. At least fifteen thousand Brady studio negatives along with a variety of prints and other gallery assets were acquired by the mass-production photography factory of E. & H.T. Anthony in New York when Brady's assets were sold at a bankruptcy auction in 1866. These items remained with Anthony's until they became the nucleus of the private Frederick Meserve Collection of Brady materials in 1902. Included in the Anthony inventory were an unknown number of unbound pages of individual carte-de-visite prints, mounted tightly together with between thirty and thirty-five to a sheet and with the sitters' names written beneath. The images are not numbered, however. In addition, there were display albums of celebrity and politician portraits labelled by name but again negative numbers were not included.[6] Whether there was an index or register and the means by which Brady employees located the appropriate negative for printing is unknown.

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[5] Ibid., 225-226.

The best comparison that can be made at this time is between the filing system of the Notman studio and that of the studio of Camille Silvy that operated in London between 1859 and 1868. Like Notman's, Silvy's studio was known for the quality of its production, the upper crust of patrons that attended for sittings, and its size and quantity of production. Up to fifty people at one time were employed there, a number comparable to that of Notman's in the 1860s and 1870s.[7] According to the negative numbers in Notman's picture books, 3,700 negatives were made from late 1861 when the books were started to the end of 1862 – a quantity competitive with the 7,000 made over the three-year period between 1859 to 1862 at Silvy's studio. In 1863, 5,371 negatives were made at Notman's; in 1864, 4,380; over 5,000 were made each year between 1865 and 1867; from 1868 the numbers rose steadily until a peak of about 14,000 was reached in 1874.

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[6] Dorothy Meserve Kunhardt and Philip B. Kunhardt, Jr., Mathew Brady and His World (New York: Time-Life Books, 1977), 26, 56-59.

[7] David Lee, "The Victorian Studio: 1," British Journal of Photography 133 (7 February 1986): 153. The wage books detail the number of persons employed at any given time at Notman's. These numbers and their implications are taken up in Chapter 4.

Twelve volumes of the Silvy studio's picture books, or "Daybooks," survive, housed in the National Portrait Gallery, London. Unlike the Notman books or those of Disdéri and Brady most of the pages in the Silvy books carry dates. Like the Notman books in the 1860s, portraits and views mingle in chronological order. In 1862, the Photographic News of London published an article describing the Silvy operation. Taking particular notice of the picture books, the writer noted that

> Every portrait taken is posted in a book and numbered consecutively. This portrait index contains upwards of 7,000 cartes de visite, and a reference to any one of them gives the clue to the whereabouts of the negative.[8]

The filing systems of Notman and Silvy give priority to technical characteristics as a means of identification. The negative number is more important than a sitter's name, "type," or even subject matter (portrait or view), for example. Sitters' negatives were not filed alphabetically by name or by family grouping, or under categories of gender (women, men), age (elders, adults, children), ethnicity (French Canadian, English, Scottish, Irish, American), race (Caucasian, Amerindian, African or Asian), or class (middle, working, or upper class).. Furthermore, prior to the late 1870s portraits and views were mingled indiscriminately. The priority given the chronological negative number locates the filing system within the rationalization of production and the streamlining, production-line nature of factory labour. Looking up a print by its negative number, when filed chronologically, is a quick and easy task. Even the confusion of format sizes is avoided by this precise system of cross-filing. Arbitrary identifying characteristics, such as gender, age, or ethnicity for example, that would require a subjective choice on the part of the person filing the image are avoided, and possible uncertainty about a print's classification is circumvented by this system.

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[8] Quoted in Ibid., 155 from Photographic News (London) (28 February 1862), 105.

The Notman studio learned the lesson of this through experience. The first three hundred portraits in the albums are organized according to subject matter and pose. These images are rarely labelled and, originally, they were not numbered. At some point after the first three hundred were filed, however, when the studio began inserting the images according to the order in which they had been made rather than according to other criteria, the studio added numbers from 0.1 and 0.300. The first group contains portraits of individual men standing, numbered 0.1-0.120. The second includes women seated (0.121-0.204). There follow, in order, children (0.205-0.240); men in groups (usually pairs) (0.241-0.285); family groups (0.286-0.295); and finally, images of individual men again, either standing or sitting (0.296-0.300). At this point the studio turned to the numbering system that it would retain throughout its existence, beginning again with "1."

The new numbering system, for all its practical applications, demonstrates and emphasizes the great quantity of photographs that the studio was producing. Furthermore, the seeming indifference to content of such a system of classification suggests that the images are being presented without any kind of overt or implied hierarchy. A tremendous variety of portrait formats are presented: bust, half-length, and full-length compositions; oval or square, hard-edged or vignetted frames; women, men, and children; single and group poses; young and old; indoor and outdoor attire; and many different ethnic groups. English and Scottish names and faces appear in greatest number, followed by French Canadian and Irish. Rare, but nevertheless present, are portraits of persons of Amerindian, African, or Asian origin. All of these styles and types appear to be freely mingled, pasted in the albums in the chance order that the sitters visited the Notman photographers. They are not identified, catalogued, or grouped in any other way. The images are presented with a first-come, first-serve spirit, rather than service in response to economic standing, social position, gender, age, ethnicity, race, or some other qualification. A democratic reception of clients, of every member of society who came calling, is implied by the mixing of images in the portrait albums.

III. Archival (Re)Orderings

Photographic technology prior to the invention of the collodion wet-plate negative in 1851, from which could be printed an infinite number of positives, precluded the need for a portrait filing system. The daguerreotype, tintype, and ambrotype methods of portrait making that the Notman studio employed prior to 1861 had meant that the customer received the one and only image available from an exposure. The studio was left with no post-sitting inventory to store or re-use. Neither was additional labour needed to handle the production work that resulted from the technological ability to print and reprint from a single negative or to keep a reference log of the negatives and prints that were manufactured. Photographer John Werge, a Scottish contemporary of William Notman who took up commercial photography in 1845, wrote in his memoirs, The Evolution of Photography of 1890, that he stopped using the daguerreotype process in favour of collodion in 1857 because collodion

> was of far more commercial value, benefitting private individuals and public bodies, and creating an industry that expanded rapidly, and gave employment to thousands all over the world.[9]

The reusable wet-plate negative and the unprecedented demand for carte-de-visite prints after 1860 not only made an archive necessary; they also made it possible. The question is why the filing system took the form that it did. The organization of portrait images differed from that of the stereographs that had preceded them. Wet-plate technology had been first widely applied to stereograph production. The Notman studio was making reproducible stereographs in the late 1850s but no stereograph albums have come to light. It is necessary to speculate, therefore, that the studio's print copies may have been filed much the way stereograph collections were stored in homes - one behind the other in a card file type of system. Unlike portraits in albums, stereographs had to be inserted in a stereoscope and viewed one at a time by an individual viewer to achieve their binocular effect. Therefore, an album filing system would not have been especially useful or viable. The Maple Box portfolio, in which stereographs were grouped geographically, laid out on large sheets of bristol board, and accompanied by a custom-made handheld viewer, is a notable but uncommon exception.

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[9] John Werge, The Evolution of Photography (London, 1890; reprint, New York: Arno Press, 1973), 58.

Just how the new portrait commodity was organized, then, must be seen as not only the result of a de facto need, a system somehow inherent in the commodity manufactured[10] (Notman's early attempts at categorizing the images are evidence enough that this was not so), but as something that also made sense, that allowed viewers access to a kind of information or understanding that was sought or expected at the time. Such a system, historically integrated, in turn contributes in a subtle way to the manners in which the nineteenth century is understood today.

The introduction of archival orderings of photographic practice and production invites comparison to the ordering project of a century earlier, The Encyclopedia; or Analytic Dictionary of Science, Arts, and Trades.[11] The development of photography archival practices is as significant and momentous for the late-nineteenth century as the Encyclopedia was to its time. Both represent a signal reconsideration and reordering of knowledge - of what could and could not be comprehended about its time and place, made visible as much by the contents of each as by the manner in which they are organized and used. The defining feature of the two systems is the circumscription and articulation of the relations allowed specific things. For example, the Encyclopedia arranges and associates information and ideas about science, arts, and trade in an alphabetical order of particular subject matter. In comparison, the Notman picture books arrange photographs - by and large portrait images - in chronological as well as historical order, that is, in the sequence and across the period of time in which they were made. Michel Foucault stresses that the use of the alphabet to order the contents of the Encyclopedia was meant not as a reflection of knowledge organized by a neutral ordering system but "to reconstitute the very order of the universe by the way in which words are linked together and arranged in space."[12]

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[10] Michel Foucault argues this point in The Order of Things: An Archaeology of the Human Sciences, [1966] trans. A.M. Sheridan Smith (New York: Pantheon Books, 1970), xx.

[11] Edited by Denis Diderot and Jean le Rond D'Alembert, twenty-seven volumes of text and eleven volumes of plates were published between 1751 and 1772 in Paris. Allan Sekula takes up The Encyclopedia to trace photography's inheritance as a truthful means of scientific representation in "Photography Between Labour and Capital." See especially pp. 203-217.

The very simplicity of the picture book system, tremendously practical for facilitating a patron's request for reprints and for assuring that the right negative is retrieved, belies the complexity of its historical consequences. The confusion and profusion of individuals, their social status, and their interchanges are effaced by the orderly surfaces of the picture books. As noted earlier, each image in the picture books is placed first of all according to its negative number and then according to its format. The photographs are not ordered by content categories or even alphabetically by the names of the persons who commissioned them. There is a neatness and courtesy to the lineup, in which each client appears to be treated with equal attention, is portrayed in the same size as the next person in the album, and receives an equally fine portrait. The orderliness imparts an aura of formality and decorum. What is established is something Allan Sekula calls "a relation of abstract visual equivalence between pictures."[13] Each photograph seems much like any other, of equal quality and value. By implication, the persons portrayed seem much the same as well. Similarity supplants diversity.

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[12] Foucault, Order of Things, 38.

The Notman studio's picture books display in a particular way the business of making photographic images;

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[13] Sekula, "Photography Between Labour and Capital," 195. (Sekula's emphasis.)

no hierarchies or even simple differences appear to be assumed, imposed, or drawn upon; the act of commissioning a photograph and access to the means of representation are presented as equitable and neutral. An air of universality and harmony is maintained by virtue of consistent quality and a chronological filing system. The method of filing the portraits in chronological order, side by side in photo albums such as patrons would compile at home, does not appear to differentiate, respect, or inform nuances of identity. And yet, had the portrait images been filed as stereographs were, one behind the other as in a card file (such as one first encounters most prints, no matter their content or format, in most photographic archives today), comparisons of pose, style, attributes, dress and, especially, physiognomy and expression, would have been impossible. The picture book system not only facilitates such viewing needs or wishes, but also actively promotes and demands them. Thus, hierarchies and differences re-surface in the viewing and interpretations.

IV. Boundaries of Identity

The Notman studio clearly undertook ordering as its project with the picture books. The studio required a system of image retrieval. But the picture books were also sales tools. The books were available for visitors in the reception room to browse and analyze the studio's work. It is the congruity of the books' organization that allows the viewer to draw particular comparisons and contrasts among the images, the portraits, lined up there. The nature of these comparisons and contrasts, the qualities or forms that can be or are examined and related are determined by the configuration of the ordering.

What did the organization of the Notman studio's picture books accomplish? Notman's books combine varying aspects of the books of his contemporaries although there are no records to indicate that Notman was familiar with the books of any of these studios before he set up his own system in 1861. Like Disdéri and Silvy in Europe, Notman's books include negative numbers. Disdéri assigned just one negative number per whole plate whereas Notman and Silvy numbered each individual image, which suggests that they used individual one-eighth or one-tenth plate sized negatives. The kinds of cameras and lenses used in the Notman studio in this period has not been sorted out yet, however. Like Brady in the United States, but unlike Disdéri and Silvy, the Notman system names sitters and views. What is accomplished by setting these identifying titles in place? It is that the patrons whose existence is recorded and classified in the Notman picture books have not suffered anonymity in posterity, as have most nineteenth-century photographic portrait purchasers. (Even portraits purchased from the Notman studio that may not have been labelled by the sitters or recipients can be reidentified today by consulting the index and picture books.) The same can be said for the sites and other subject matter preserved in Notman view photographs. In picture books such as Silvy's in which the sitters were not named, only acquaintances who chanced upon unlabelled portraits would be able to test the sitters' photographic appearances against something known about them to decipher how "true" a likeness might be. With the Notman studio's naming of figures, however, more specific details and boundaries of identity are put in place that could signal much for viewers. For example, a client's name stakes a claim of prestige - for the client, certainly, but for the studio as well - that much more forcefully. What would be at risk for the studio and patron alike if such boundaries were not there? Would the picture books attract customers' interest in as compelling a manner? Would the viewer obtain the same meanings from a look through the picture books if the sitters' names were absent? Or would the meanings be more fluid, more abstract, less specific, less directed and controlled?

A particular case study raises such questions. In 1876, a Miss Findlay and seven of her companions gathered to have their group portrait made at William Notman's photographic studio. After the sitting, a 4 x 5.5 inch proof of the portrait was pasted in the Notman studio's cabinet picture books. In keeping with the studio's practice, the negative number, 24323, was recorded in ink beneath the print along with a title: Miss Findlay's Group (Figure 9).

Accompanying the picture book is the index book that cross-lists the photograph alphabetically by title; the negative number and format are also noted alongside. Recorded under "F" in Index Book Seven, covering the period 1874 to 1876, is "Finlay" [sic] followed by forty-one negative numbers, each identified. Between 1874 and 1876, whenever a "Finlay" sat for a photograph the negative number and an identifying note was added to the list. Most of the forty-one "Finlay" negatives are attributed to an "L Finlay." But there are others: 5784 and 5785 are titled "Master," for example; 16171 and 16172 are each identified as "Group"; and two negative numbers, 24323 and 41720, are distinguished as "Group, Miss and Friends."[14]

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[14] Although there is a spelling discrepancy between the index book listing and the label in the picture book, the negative numbers match. In the interests of clarity and consistency, I have chosen to use the spelling "Findlay" that accompanies the image. In 1874, when negative numbers reached 100,000 the studio began again at "1". See p. 79.

The 1876 portrait of Miss Findlay's Group (24323) shared space with seven other portraits in the cabinet picture book. Prospective clients perusing the studio's albums in the reception room would have seen the image of Miss Findlay and "friends" pasted among three of Montreal merchant Joseph McKay, each of which offered a different pose, costume, or framing;[15] two of Master James Notman, the studio owner's nephew, that vary in framing and expression; a copy made of a worn photograph of a child for a Mrs. H. Brisette; and a copy of a portrait of a Mr. McEachran made for a G. Bishop. (Photography galleries routinely made copies of photographs for which negatives were not available.)

The lone image of Miss Findlay's Group differs from the others on its particular page because of the large number of figures and the sideways positioning of the photograph to fit the album space. The portrait blends in more than it stands out, however, when viewed casually among the contents of the album in general. The photographs share a uniform appearance of lighting, exposure, format, and print quality that complements and informs an overall impression of "sameness" among the sitters. In addition to these formal visual attributes, the women of Miss Findlay's Group share the same trappings of class with the images around it. Comfortable home-like settings, fancy dress, and personal accessories all describe a middle-class social placement.

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[15] Lovell's Montreal Directory for 1875-76 (Montreal: John Lovell, 1875), 490, lists Joseph Mackay (rather than "McKay") of "Joseph Mackay and Brother, wholesale dry goods, 166 to 170 McGill, warehouse 25 Longueuil."

John Tagg has defined the portrait photograph as "a sign whose purpose is both the description of an individual and the inscription of social identity....[I]t is also a commodity, a luxury, an adornment, ownership of which itself confers status."[16] Tagg's emphasis on the classed nature of the photograph is crucial to understanding that photography in the second half of the nineteenth century was an industry and an institution central to the visual ordering of the new urban social complex that grew with industrial capitalism. The picture book system not only arranges the photographs and demonstrates how the photography industry organized its studios and its products; it is also a provocative element in a society where the visual - including both the spectacle and the spectator - was a fundamental defining characteristic. Having one's photographic portrait made was an integral part of the "etiquette of urban living," a term employed by Mary Ryan to describe the public gestures made by urban dwellers to articulate social place.[17]

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[16] John Tagg, The Burden of Representation: Essays on Photographies and Histories (London: Macmillan Education Ltd., 1988), 37. Class was precisely registered in this period and photographic representation offered a means of circumventing and blurring class identities.

It is the articulation of social place, or in Tagg's terms, social identity, that is under stress in the Notman picture books' amassment of commercial portraits; and it is that which is under scrutiny here. Studying the placement and titling description of Miss Findlay's Group in the studio's organization and classification systems suggests that conventions of photographic social inscription can be circumscribing and even capricious. Looking at this photograph and its title in the picture books alone, the viewer is not made privy to a secondary identity that was recorded, and only incidentally retrieved, in the index book. A subtitle found there, however, in its way both as vague and as descriptive as the original, casts a different light upon the portrait.

At the end of the 1874 to 1876 index book is a "Miscellaneous" section containing the entry "Ladies of the Printing Room," accompanied by three negative numbers: 7931, 7932, and 24323. Each is identified as a cabinet photograph. Cross-referencing the numbers with the cabinet picture books reveals blanks where the two earlier numbers

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[17] Mary Ryan, "The American Parade," in The New Cultural History, ed. Lynn Hunt (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1989), 153.

(from 1874) are entered. Each space is labelled, though, as "Young Ladies of the Printing Room." In the place of the third entry, 24343, however, is one surprising print: the portrait labelled "Miss Findlay's Group." Looking at this image anew, the social identity of this group of women suggested by its title is challenged because something of their relationship to each other has been accidentally revealed. Not only does the new label change our impression of these women and their roles, but also it makes the identity rehearsed by the photographic gathering seem uncertain and conditional, fluctuating with its descriptive appendages.

When it comes to the problem of reading the social identity inscribed by a portrait upon its sitter, the multiple label descriptions of Miss Findlay's Group - otherwise "Miss Findlay & friends" in the carte-de-visite album and "Ladies of the Printing Room" in the index book - suggest that naming each print not only adds to the evidence of social identity or place for viewers (both historically and today), but to the complexity of that identity; to the difficulty of effectively inscribing a stable identity; and, to the complications and implications of analyzing how arrangements of these images informed such inscriptions.

In the case of Miss Findlay's Group, these sitters are, according to the picture books' labels, added to the collection as stereotypical petit-bourgeois women of leisure and private companionship. The index book's "Miscellaneous" label that categorizes the women according to their employment rather than name prioritizes a different social and group identity, however; one that is lodged in a visible, quantifiable, economic, manufacturing function. Furthermore, the label renders the working women anonymous, rather than specifying at least one by name, as was the custom and courtesy of the images of private women, men, and children. Both kinds of identities speak very much to the values and priorities of their time and place. Nevertheless, they challenge, if not contradict (at least to our eyes), one another.

The inconsistency in labelling raises the question of the nature in which portrait sitters were categorized by those in photographic studios responsible for their identification. The seeming absence of groupings or categorization beyond the technical format that the sequential line-up produces is, in this particular case, undermined by the act of labelling. The hints of multiple means of ordering that compound to produce for the viewer, or to direct the viewer towards, a particular impression or idea of the way things were, the "reality" of the day, calls for a disassembling of the archives to explore the fissures and to read against the grain of its project for the differences, contradictions, collisions that are elided in this representation of social identity.

If archival arrangement contains and directs particular ideas and ways of thinking, then how is order imposed on things in a manner that directs the viewer, in this case, to the similarities rather than the differences and contradictions?[18] "Sameness" amongst the sitters cannot be shared until the photo itself is made; "sameness" can then be made visible, articulated by the archival arrangement in which the portraits are pasted side by side, in albums containing only one size of image. The uniformity of image size is a powerful ordering technique that prevents the viewer from being distracted by the technical format or by drawing comparisons between the images based on size.

V. Conclusion

The Notman studio and its photographs were part and parcel of a society that was in the throes of re-identifying

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[18] In The Order of Things, Foucault is concerned with "a history of resemblance," with "relations of similarity or equivalence between things." He postulates that "the history of order imposed on things would be the history of the same--of that which for a given culture, is both dispersed and related, therefore to be distinguished by kinds and to be collected together into identities." Foucault, Order of Things, xxiv.

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itself primarily as a political and economic unit with industrial production as its basis: the picture books are a testament to the quantity and quality of such production as well as to the desirability of the commodity. They are a visual representation of an orderly flow of manufacturing. On the surface, the Notman picture books appear to unify, by multiple means, their commodity as well as the subject matter pictured. But, the manner and means by which photographic portrait images were amassed for display in studio picture books was a disruption in methods of representation whose significance cannot be overemphasized. Picture books are themselves a representation: a re-presentation of otherwise countless, dispersed, invariably anonymous portrait and view photographs. They are an ordering of simulant, time-locked visual fragments. The means of representation and its organization or presentation is not predetermined or innate. Instead, it fixes the meaning and function of that which it is employed to articulate. The picture books, for example, set out a democratic social order in a visual manner that is not as readily seen in the fluid interactions of everyday life.

What I want to test in the long run with the Notman picture books is whether such an archive in fact functions to differentiate rather than unify and homogenize. For example, does the manner in which Miss Findlay's Group is categorized and displayed differentiate it from other images, particularly those of young petit-bourgeois women at leisure? Or, does this manner of classification successfully and solidly merge the image with its mates? Certainly, to the contemporary eye, Miss Findlay's Group looks much like the hundreds of thousands of other portrait images of middle-class Euro-Canadian women, men, and children on the pages of the Notman picture books. The books arrange and identify the photographs in a manner that promotes such an impression. Do the picture books specify something about this portrait and others that contributes to, enlarges, or delimits what is or can be known about the sitter(s), their society, and their social identity? Furthermore, what more might they assert about the photographic industry and its role in a newly industrializing society? Examination of the structure of the picture books sheds light on the studio's classification of itself, its role in and relationship to its society.

It is essential to understand the place of the picture books as a system of organizing knowledge that assists in shaping an idea about the society in which they functioned. The manner in which the photographs were identified and arranged is the literal, physical framework for drawing boundaries delineating what needed to be made known and what could or had to be ignored or omitted. The books are one piece in the puzzle of how the photography industry in general and the Notman studio in particular interacted with a mid-nineteenth century industrializing society and contributed to its construction and self-(re)presentation. The elegant simplicity of the system, like the simple elegance of the portraits themselves, stands as a visual metaphor - a "likeness" - for the way in which the greater social structure which it portrayed, and perhaps betrayed, was to be known and understood.

CHAPTER 4

THE PORTRAIT PHOTOGRAPHS

Tension between the meanings and functions of individual portrait photographs and the manner in which they were collected and organized is a taut and crucial element that marks nineteenth-century photography archives and informs the production and function, consumption and reception of the wet-plate/albumen portrait print in the 1860s. This is true whether the images were displayed and viewed in the gallery, on a drawing room side table, in a stereograph collection, or, following the introduction of the carte-de-visite, in private albums and studio picture books.

Edges, rather than isolating and containing frames, mark portrait boundaries in the Notman picture books (Figures 7 and 8).[1] It is the visibility and interplay of photographic edges, rubbing shoulders as it were in the picture books, that provokes thought here. At this site, in the picture books where the images intersect, a change is marked in traditions of portrait representation, where tradition is intercepted and expectations subverted. Here, presented to view, are large numbers of portrait prints that look much the same. Standard sizes, shapes, depths of field, framing, focus, and monochromatic finishes unify the images, discouraging perceptions of difference. Whereas the individual portrait sitter was concerned with achieving a rendering of "likeness," that which is characteristic to the sitter alone, the group presentation of these portrait photographs appears to emphasize continuity and "sameness."

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[1] Alan Trachtenberg has considered how a frame (or its absence) informs the reception of a sitter to a daguerreotype portrait in "Likeness as Identity: Reflections on the Daguerrian Mystique," in The Portrait in Photography, ed. Graham Clarke (London: Reaktion Books Ltd., 1992), 190. He argues that the effects are quite at odds with each other as the framed image produces a "likeness," as separate entity, while the unframed image leaves the relationship more tenuous.

The problem taken up in this chapter is how the commercial picture book presentation of portrait photographs defines and informs the purpose and functions of later nineteenth-century photographic portraiture. This chapter will explore components of the collective class portrait produced by the Notman picture books in which reside the definitive visual representation of the urban industrial middle class of mid-nineteenth century Montreal. I will argue that the photographic portrait's primary function was to operate in middle-class terms and that the picture books affirmed, as they ordered, a collective visual portrait of that class, or more accurately, an ideal of that class, its aspirations, and its time and place.

I. Viewing the Picture Books

Alan Trachtenberg has argued that the familiar aspects of photographic portraiture, the content and composition as well as an appeal to lifelikeness that did not change substantially from painted portraiture, disguised the fundamentally different nature of the photographic portrait image.[2] Traditional content and composition help to engage the viewer immediately and consequently distract from the radical elements of the photographic portrait image. In size and relationship to the viewer, for example, the carte-de-visite continued the tradition of the miniature portrait whose role, in fact, had been usurped by the daguerreotype which was also a one-of-a-kind memento, rare and precious; a likeness so intimate it could be cupped in the palm of the hand. The photographic image, however, whether daguerreotype or carte-de-visite, was no longer a handcrafted object of a tactile material nature such as paint and canvas. Instead, the viewer beheld a physical trace of the sitter retained by a wash of light and chemicals. Embodied in these traces and available to the viewer, seemingly, was an essence of the person pictured that no other means of representation could capture.[3]

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[2] Alan Trachtenberg, Reading American Photographs: Images as History. Mathew Brady to Walker Evans (New York: Hill and Wang, 1989), 5.

The kind of value attached to the new kind of portraiture also differed. Very much like the larger painted portrait, the carte-de-visite photographic portrait entered the visual economy aligned with and in service to the class of greatest social weight, in this case the bourgeoisie (including the petit-bourgeoisie). The photographic portrait was invented and produced by that class for the use of that class. The photographic carte-de-visite portrait did not display wealth and power in the dramatic way that a hanging of large painted images did. While the daguerreotype had been a unique image, like the painted portrait, both it and the carte did not require the materials, craftsmanship, and time that were invested in the painted portrait and disallowed a grand display in the home or Salon. Furthermore, the carte-de-visite was reproducible and part of its *raison d'être* was a wider distribution and circulation of the sitter's likeness. Thus the small photographic carte-de-visite portrait, while still intimate, forewent the caché of rarity and preciousness; being reproducible it was both disposable and replaceable. Its value lay in its intimacy and reproducibility in sure contrast to the magnificence of the painted portrait that was in part expressed in size and singularity.

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[3] A quest for such an image shapes Roland Barthes' inquiry into the nature of photographic representation in Camera Lucida: Reflections on Photography, trans. Richard Howard (New York: Hill and Wang, 1980).

The elision of the new with the familiar in the presentation and reception of the photographic portrait is an especially significant factor in the construction and visual achievement of the picture books. The ordering effect and function of gathering photographic images together for viewing is mitigated in part by the sense of familiarity imparted by the portrait photograph. Take for example the experience of viewing a daguerreotype portrait of William Notman, c.1853 (Figure 10) and compare it with how we look at cartes-de-visite of Alice Notman and William Notman from the early days of the picture books (Figures 11 and 12).

When viewed without a frame, the daguerreotype plate's raw and brittle edges break off in space; the image itself floats indeterminately between the space of the mirrored plate and that of the viewer who must tilt the plate until the proper angle of sight is achieved to obtain a glimpse of the figure. When formally displayed in the mid-nineteenth century, the image was viewed in a small case (the plate itself is about 2.75 x 3.25 inches, a one-sixth plate) pressed by a mat and covered by a glass plate, and held intact by a decorative frame. Essential to an encounter with the daguerreotype is the one-to-one relationship of the image and viewer. The image of the daguerreotype comes into view for the viewer one daguerreotype at a time. With each image, one must be able to move either the plate or oneself to achieve the proper reflection of light that reveals the image to the eye. Viewing a daguerreotype this way is intrinsic to bringing the image into view.

In comparison, the paper print images of Alice Notman and William Notman are permanently fixed, pasted side by side in the 1862 carte-de-visite books, as if pendant portraits. The starkness of these images aligns them more closely with the simple composition of William Notman's 1853 daguerreotype than with the elegantly accessorized portraits in the picture books that were the hallmark of the Notman name in the following decades. Alice Notman's portrait, the last in a series of five poses (4086 to 4090), immediately precedes William's (4091) in the album. In the first four images, Alice Notman is portrayed full-length, showing to advantage the two different dresses worn. In only the final image is she seated, gazing in three-quarters profile to the right beyond the viewer, her hands resting in her lap at the bottom of the frame. A strong light from above and to the left that focuses our look on her face spills over her shoulder, picking out the texture and details of the voluminous dress, and giving form to her clasped hands.

William Notman's picture is pasted in the picture book next, alongside Alice Notman. He is seated and framed like Alice, his hands at rest on his lap. William wears a dark business suit and is cast in a stronger light, this time from the right and illuminating most of the face and the hands. A longer exposure was necessary to pick out detail in the dark costume. He is looking off to the left of the viewer, the axis of his gaze crossing but not quite intersecting Alice's. Attention has been duly paid to a balanced presentation of these images by arranging the figures so that they would be turned to one another when the images were viewed together. As a result, between the sittings the direction of the light source would have had to be adjusted to illuminate the set from the opposite side. Otherwise, it appears, nothing else was changed. The distance of the camera from the sitter was maintained and no adjustment seems to have been made to the camera height: although the figures are the same distance from the viewer, William is taller in the frame. Consequently, when the portraits are viewed beside one another in the picture book, William's eyes align not with Alice's eyes but with her forehead instead.

According to the chronological numbers assigned to these images, no one was seated for a portrait between Alice and William. Consequently, their images remain together in posterity — but only in this context. Because these are cartes-de-visite, the images would ultimately have been meant to be printed and pasted on cards. Whether or not either of these images actually circulated has not been determined. (Just one negative was made of William at the time of Alice's sitting. However, another carte, 4098, was made very shortly thereafter, probably within a day, suggesting dissatisfaction with the first. While the composition and framing remain the same, the lighting of the second portrait is softer and William's pose and expression are more dynamic.) If the images were actually made up onto cards, they would have entered circulation and become mixed among others' calling cards, at times without their companion. When permanently pasted next to one another in an album, however, these images function consistently and coherently. The composition of the two portraits clearly adheres to the aesthetic traditions of pendant portraiture and implies that they were intended to work well visually when viewed as a pair. Even when viewed alone, the figures are turned in a manner that suggests that these individuals have a partner at their side. Furthermore, recognizing and understanding the Notman images as a pair normalizes the new act of viewing portrait photographs in hitherto unprecedented quantities and contexts. The impression of a fixed relationship remains, despite the vagaries of distribution of the images, because of viewers' familiarity with the traditions of pendant portraiture.

It is at this site of presentation, nevertheless, that one is able to detect one of the subtlest differences between handcrafted portraits and photographic portraits: the relation of the images to time. The graphic or sculpted portrait comes to view over a period of time, whereas the photograph is the product of a moment in time that can never be repeated although its representation can be endlessly reproduced.[4] William's two portraits, so similar yet so different, make a case in point. The knowledge and sense that the sitter was truly present at the moment of rendering the photographic image is an important element in this difference. The light that is reflected from the figure and which sketches the representation of that figure on the daguerreotype plate or wet-plate negative registers a physical trace of the sitter; a trace like that of a shadow or a footprint.[5] Left is the tangible rendering of a person's presence in a single if passing moment in time. This representation of momentary presence, coupled with the chronological ordering and side by side layout in the picture books, lends a certain kind of coherence to the massive numbers of images. The abstract coherence of time, which the photograph so profoundly articulates and is unavailable to handcrafted forms of portraiture, is negotiated and emphasized by the particular ordering of the picture books.

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[4] Trachtenberg, "Likeness as Identity," 190.

[5] Ibid., 187. Trachtenberg draws on Charles Sanders Peirce's use of the term "trace" in "Logic as Semiotic: The Theory of Signs," in Philosophical Writings of Peirce, ed. Justus Buchler (New York 1955), 98-119.

Finally, the organization of picture books reduces the impact of perhaps the most obvious difference between graphic and photographic portraits: the finished surfaces of the images.[6] With the intervention of photography, the traditional surfaces of two-dimensional portrait imagery were replaced and the reception of portraiture altered by the manners in which photography studios arrayed their images for consumption. The untouched carte-de-visite portrait photograph presents a smooth surface that seemingly bears no trace of human labour, displacing the aura and value accorded the hand of the painter that marks the surface of a painted portrait. Instead, light reflecting from a surface of chemical solutions on paper reveals an image mechanically captured. Consequently, composition and content alone seem to remain to bind the individual portrait photograph to a pictorial tradition that photographic processes render archaic. The organization of the picture books magnifies the impact of composition and content, however, thus functioning as another means by which the edge of an entirely new method of representation is blunted for the viewer; the albums overwhelm the viewer with quantity and repetition.

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[6] Furthermore, this technological rupture prevents tracing a solid, unified, progressive line of portrait tradition and complicates attempts to enter the Notman studio portraits in a tradition of painted portrait production in Canada. For a survey and analysis of portrait traditions in Lower Canada prior to 1850 see Paul Bourassa, "A Look at Likeness: Portraiture in Lower Canada," in Painting in Quebec 1820-1850 (Quebec City: Musée du Québec, 1991), 36-50.

Unlike bringing a daguerreotype into view, viewing a paper print without reference to other photographic images was a rare practice in the nineteenth century. Today, framing a nineteenth-century albumen portrait photograph in isolation for viewing and discussion, as if similar to the experience of viewing a daguerreotype, implies that its consumption was autonomous and disregards the viewing conditions for which it was produced. Albums, stereograph collections, photography galleries, and published collections of photographs held sway in the late-nineteenth century. Collecting and amassing photographs, and viewing them as one among many, was as much a function of the technology's defining characteristics of replication and multiplication as it was an expression of that industrial technology and the class that utilized it. Moreover, it is a means of presentation that complicates the portrayal of individual distinction (expressed photographically in the quest for "likeness") within the boundaries of class identity.

II. The Class Portrait

Photography entered the social lexicon conceptualized as a commodity for the bourgeoisie. Louis Daguerre introduced his method of making permanent camera images by citing its automatic process and its potential as a means of representation of those things that defined the well-to-do: "Everyone, with the aid of the DAGUERREOTYPE, will make a view of his castle or country-house; people will form collections of all kinds....Even portraits will be made."[7] Daguerre's vision of the uses of the photographic image aligns with Pierre Bourdieu's mid-twentieth century contemplation on the content and aesthetics of a photograph. In Photography: A Middle-brow Art, Bourdieu examines the class function of photography and that which is "photographable." He argues that each social group confers on photography "functions attuned to its own interests."[8] To that end, what is "photographable," he argues, is that which has meaning for the group. This concept is one that attributes to photographic practices a role in defining and demonstrating the kinds of knowledge valued by a group in an historical moment. Bourdieu cites the photographic portrait as the ideal means of fulfilling the industrial bourgeoisie's visual needs by functioning as an amalgam of art and science, of the cultural and the technological.[9] This function as well as the meaning conferred upon the photographic portrait "are directly related to the structure of the group, to the extent of its differentiation and particularly to its position within the social structure."[10]

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[7] Louis Jacques Mandé Daguerre, "Daguerreotype," (1839) in Classic Essays on Photography, ed. Alan Trachtenberg (New Haven, Connecticut: Leete's Island Books, 1980), 12. (Original emphasis.)

The ordering of the Notman picture books appears to confirm Bourdieu's assessment. The representation constructed by the books must be recognized as functioning within this context as symbiotic with the re-ordering of social networks in the mid-nineteenth century. Industrial capitalism was informed by ideals of equal opportunity and a democratic social order. The inequities of a class-based society were addressed, in part, by recourse to the axiom that vertical mobility was a right and possibility for all people and that every individual, with sufficient effort, could attain a higher class membership and social status.

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[8] Pierre Bourdieu, Photography: A Middle-brow Art, [1965] trans. Shaun Whiteside (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1990), 8.

[9] Ibid., 6-8.

[10] Ibid., 8.

The Prince of Wales, visiting Montreal in 1860, stressed the idea of class mobility in his toast to the workers who built the Victoria Bridge and who, he said,

> by the sweat of their brow and the skilled labour of many a hard day's toil, contributed to erect this monument to the greatness of their country – a structure scarcely less honorable to the hands which executed than to the minds which conceived it....Let me further remind you, that England opens to all her sons the same prospect of success to genius combined with honest industry. All cannot attain the prize, but all may strive for it, and in this race victory is not to the wealthy, or to the powerful, but to him to whom God has given intellect, and has implanted in the heart the moral qualities which are required to constitute true greatness.[11]

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[11] Henry James Morgan, The Tour of H.R.H. The Prince of Wales Through British North America and the United States, by a British Canadian (Montreal: John Lovell, 1860), 103.

Up to 3,000 men and boys were employed at any one time during bridge construction. Some highly skilled tradesmen experienced in bridge building in England were brought to Montreal to work on the project (although the price of their transportation was deducted from their wages). Most of the labourers were hired in Canada, however, and included French and British-Canadian workers alike. See Stanley Triggs, "The Bridge," in Triggs et. al., Victoria Bridge, 45.

Hard work, coupled with the elusive if somewhat less democratic quality of genius, was the ticket to success and prosperity for England's "sons," the men of the British Empire. The ordering and display of photographic portraits seem to offer proof of the truth of this claim.

The Notman picture books of the 1860s and 1870s frame a relentless procession of bourgeois-looking men, women, and children of European heritage whose images are punctuated by an occasional portrait of a person of Amerindian, African, or Asian origin. These latter images are especially rare prior to 1880 when dry-plate technology made photography outside the studio much easier and more likely. After 1880, photographs of Amerindian women and men on the prairies or in the canneries of British Columbia, and of Chinese workers who built the transcontinental railway through western Canada, appear in the archives as view photographs and become prominent components of representation. These new conditions and means of making portrait photographs and their classification as "view" rather than "portrait" photographs in the Notman picture books, in turn signal another rupture in representation and once more redefine the nature of the portrait photograph. Between 1860 and 1880, however, these relatively rare studio portraits seem to cause the merest ripple on the surface of the picture books, enlivening the flow of images from time to time but not disrupting the orderly procession.

For example, two portraits labelled Dr. Davis (Figure 13) were filed side by side in the 1875 cabinet picture book. Seeing both images at one time, the viewer is able to make comparisons, draw contrasts, and produce a larger reading of the figure than a single photograph, or two viewed separately, would facilitate. The image presented is of a man of distinction, professionally robed and holding a book of some substance. The framings are standard three-quarters length and the poses, one in which Dr. Davis engages in eye contact with the viewer, the other in which he gazes away, are also typical. The sitter's demeanor is relaxed and confident.

Miss Guilmartin of 1876 (Figure 14), also cabinet size, presents the image of a woman placed well within the strata of the bourgeoisie. Her dress, accessories, and surrounding attributes all serve as testimony to her position as a young, single woman of means. Furthermore, the more expensive cabinet format and the prestige of the Notman name in 1870s Montreal, add gloss and status to this woman's image. As in the Dr. Davis portrait, there is nothing here that distinguishes the sitter from the other images of the bourgeoisie in which Miss Guilmartin is immersed except for racial difference. These images stand out only because the sitters' race is rarely represented in the Notman picture books.

The portrait of an anonymous young woman, known only as Mrs. Cowan's Nurse of 1871 (Figure 15), adds another dimension to the collection of identities defined in and by the picture books. The absence of this woman's name — her primary identification — is in some respects an anomaly in the Notman morgue. Furthermore, she is a working woman; despite her dress, pose, and presence in the picture books, her title as a worker defines her in terms that differ from those of Miss Guilmartin, for example. It does not serve to exclude her from the collection, however. Rather, the title clearly justifies her presence because it implies that it was Mrs. Cowan, her employer, who exercised her privileges as a member of the bourgeoisie to commission this photograph of someone with whom the Cowan family had an intimate relationship, regardless of class placement or race. The title contributes as much to the identity and status of the absent Mrs. Cowan as it does to that of the woman portrayed.

Anonymity of a kind also circumscribes portraits of a man filed in the 1870 cabinet book as Oka Indian Chief (Figures 16 and 17). This is an exceptional example of the effect of portraits encountered and read as a group in the picture book format, as well as the significance of the labelling that attended them. Pasted together, the figure represented comes to life in a rounded manner that belies the two-dimensional nature of a single image. The first portrait (Figure 16) offers a full-length framing of what appears to be an elderly bourgeois gentleman in vest and day coat seated at a side table in what might be his drawing room. The second image of Oka Indian Chief (Figure 17) is more tightly framed and the viewer accordingly confronts the figure more closely as distance between the figure and the viewer is attenuated, an effect aided and enhanced by muted and undefinable background details. Much is revealed here about the difference of this sitter from the majority of Notman portrait clients. The man has exchanged his jacket for a woven stole draped over his white shirt and vest. Bourgeois trappings have been eliminated for the most part. What remain have been overlaid with personal effects pared to these few distinctive items which clearly state the source of his eminence. His rank and role as a Chief of his people, a position of political and social distinction outside the Euro-Canadian community but interacting with it, is hereby claimed. Again, the characteristic that sets this man apart, and that thus stops the viewer's glance, is race. His racial identity and function within his primary social place are clarified and confirmed by the label. Despite evidence that he also claimed status within the predominantly Euro-Canadian bourgeoisie, however, his identity as such is undermined because his name, like that of the woman who attended Mrs. Cowan, is absent.

The persons of colour portrayed in the Notman picture books are for the most part represented as people of means or achievement, or both, people who display the accoutrements or accomplishments that define the bourgeoisie. Racial difference – that is, different from the Euro-Canadian norm framed in the picture books – ripples the smooth reflection of the albums just enough to draw attention to the inclusiveness of the portrayal; an inclusiveness signalling that all have access to a bourgeois class status regardless of one's race or origins. Mrs. Cowan's Nurse appears to be an exception in some ways to this general rule, an exception that raises matters of race, gender, and class which will be taken up at the end of this chapter and pursued in the next. Like the others, however, Mrs. Cowan's Nurse stands to demonstrate variations within the system of elements that make up the picture books. The picture books derive authority through the force of numbers and the compelling effect of the visually repetitive images that construct the archives. The photographic inclusion of these figures seems to operate as a permit for them to participate in a particular way and for particular purposes as middle-class members of nineteenth-century Montreal society. Social customs beyond class that may circumscribe the limits of their participation are both signalled and concealed by this visual inclusion and classification. This is done in a manner that name and title alone — as in the city directory, for example — could not accomplish. While gender, marital status, language group, or professional or employment status can be determined or displayed by their names and titles, if included, only visual images can add the identifying factor of race.

A more subtle rendering of the idea of inclusion is cast by the manner in which the picture books suggest that Euro-Canadian sitters, that is French and British Canadians who were understood to share the same western European racial background but different national origins, were socially integrated in Montreal. Mingling on the pages of the picture books are French-Canadian and British-Canadian portraits, distinguishable as such on the basis of name alone - an inexact method at best. This integration implies that bourgeois members of both groups enjoyed equal access to Notman studio portraits and appear to have received the same services and products. In other words, financial ability rather than ethnicity determined access. Ironically, the Notman studio was a definitively anglophone environment. All of its textual traces, its wages books, catalogues and publications, advertisements, correspondence, and index books are in English only. Its women employees were all of British origin or descent as were the vast majority of the men. There is no evidence that the studio attempted to provide any kind of francophone element in its business profile or endeavours.

In this respect, the picture books portray a social character that emulates the British imperial ideal of integrating colonized citizens into British institutions and social structures, while granting them the right to retain significant and distinguishing cultural practices, such as religion and language. As a whole, the picture books present an image of a cosmopolitan Montreal society in which middle-class British and French-Canadians, among others, associated easily and without distinction, implying once again an environment of respect, exchange, and equality in which both European-based cultures prospered. If truth and "likeness" were to be found through the photographic portrait in this age of spectacle, then a portrayal of, and look at, the inclusive nature of the class (and race and gender) who owned and utilized photographic technology was essential to the Euro-Canadian bourgeoisie's understanding of the complex nature of the emerging social order and its collective social identity and class status.

III. Differentiation

The Notman studio's picture books do not stand alone in visually representing to their constituents ascendant social values. The democratic principles of inclusion and political competition were cited to justify the composition of a new Notman studio portfolio publication launched in 1863:

> Proceedings and events so unique in themselves cannot be viewed apart from their authors; and we should miss much of their meaning were we to attempt to interpret them without reference to their opponents. The canvas that encloses the historic tracery should include also the personal portraiture. The strife of opinion should represent the parties to that strife. We care not to separate the act from the actors, the accepted design from the competitive designers; on the contrary, we acknowledge the relationship, and recognize priority in unity. What has been done, and what is now being done, are however matters of state policy, not necessary to be discussed here; but the subject suggests the observation, and, we hope, warrants the opinion, that standing, as we may be said to be, on the threshold of new and great events, the time is propitious for collecting in a form, not unworthy of being preserved, notes and sketches not only of men who are now filling, but of those also who have in years past filled, positions of responsibility and honor in the political and social history of the British American Provinces.[12]

Portraits of British Americans was an ambitious portfolio published in three volumes between 1863 and 1868 in Montreal by William Notman. The portrait images of eighty-four men of public and political consequence in British North America, both contemporary and historical, were printed on "delicately tinted paper"[13] and separately mounted, each accompanied by a biographical sketch. Not all of the photographs were based on Notman studio portraits; many were originally oil portraits or photographs from sources other than Notman's. Where the images are Notman originals, however, the studio is credited.

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[12] Fennings Taylor in W. Notman and Fennings Taylor, Portraits of British Americans (Montreal: William Notman, 1863-1868), ii.

The gallery of famous men and women is a tradition in visual representation that includes eighteenth-century biographical encyclopedias illustrated with engraved reproductions of oil portraits. These were the blueprints for the later nineteenth-century photography-driven versions such as the photographic portrait portfolios being issued in England at this time. Their monthly publication format was taken up in Portraits of British Americans.[14] The most important photographic precedent for all of these ventures, however, was Mathew Brady's The Gallery of Illustrious Americans, published at the rate of one portrait per month during 1850 in New York. Lithographic copies of twelve daguerreotypes of the cream of Brady's clientele, accompanied by biographical information about each man, were reproduced for subscribers.

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[13] Ibid., iii.

[14] These British portfolios were cited as the models for the Notman enterprise by Taylor in Ibid.

Alan Trachtenberg has characterized Illustrious Americans as a reconstruction of the public gallery of the Brady studio in portfolio form for private consumption.[15] It seems to me, however, that the reconstruction which these published portrait portfolios represent differs in ways significant enough to argue for a contrast to, rather than an analogy with, the commercial gallery space. If the gallery space can be seen as a kind of urban crossroads in which people from a variety of places and social positions intersected, strangers whose crossings were for the most part accidental and incidental, the portfolios, in contrast, should be seen as select and invited social groupings. A person's presence there was earned by means of accomplishment and bestowed in recognition of such rather than acquired through purchase. Furthermore, the private acquisition and consumption of such a portfolio contrasts with the open and seemingly egalitarian nature of the gallery space and its picture books. As such, a portrait portfolio was not a reconstituted version of the public gallery; it represented quite a different concept of social ordering, one emphasizing exclusivity, as *Portraits of British Americans* can serve to demonstrate.

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[15] Trachtenberg, Reading American Photographs, 145.

The immediate impetus cited for William Notman's development of *Portraits of British Americans* was that

> The truth is, events of great national importance are hourly passing into history....Statesmen of different parties, appreciating the requirements of the hour, forgetting alike the rivalries and jealousies of the past, are agreed in declaring that the time is come when the power of these separated Provinces should be consolidated, when their individual strength should be knit together; when, as one great *Monarchical Confederacy*, they should practice in unison the graver duties of Government, should accept the burden of new obligations, and the administration of new trusts.[16]

Much like the Brady project, *Portraits of British Americans* has one eye on history and the other on posterity. Portraits are mobilized to mark a significant moment. Here Notman shares with Brady the self-ascribed role of grand historical chronicler, both visually documenting and producing the historical moment. Drawn from among the crowds gathered in the picture books, portraits of this particular group of men, affiliated in some way with the movement to Confederation – not yet a sure thing in 1863, but a fait accompli by 1868 – are regathered and reordered in a separate portfolio. The political unification of the colonies and their inhabitants is applauded, the project endorsed, and the major players lauded as heroes by virtue of being bound together between the covers of this portfolio. These figures are set apart from their peers, bestowed with a status unavailable to those whose images resided only in the studio picture books. The public figures' eminence is further underscored by the format and ordering of the portraits. Each image is reserved a page to itself. And rather than being labelled with an identifying title alone, a biography is published alongside explaining and lauding each figure's contribution to the evolving political organization of British America.

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[16] Fennings Taylor in Notman and Taylor, *Portraits*, i-ii. (Original emphasis.)

Furthermore, this special collection was not available to everyone on equal terms in the manner that Notman's picture book assemblage seems to have been. It was produced for and consumed by "Gentlemen in different and distant places [who] have, unsolicited, gratified us by requesting the insertion of their names on our lists of subscribers...."[17] The portfolio was made by, for, and about, an elite segment of the society — those men who could afford to subscribe to the portfolio and upon whom ownership of the portfolio would bestow certain recognition — whose images and identities were scattered and mixed among those of all bourgeois strata and stripes who had purchased a place in the picture books. In consequence, the portfolio is as much about exclusions (of women, of workers, of foreigners, of persons of colour) as inclusions (politicians and statesmen who were often adversaries). Whereas the picture books appear to convey full membership on all participants, the elite membership in _Portraits of British Americans_ reveals that such membership had its categories, levels, restrictions, and qualifications.

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[17] Ibid., i.

The political differences amongst the figures portrayed in _Portraits of British Americans_ are smoothed over by recourse to a higher, shared goal, a strategy that reinforces notions of social unity, cohesion, stability, and contentment. The format of the portfolio, in which the images are viewed in succession rather than abreast, belies antagonistic relationships and makes it difficult for the viewer to draw contrasts and cite tensions between the figures portrayed. Finally, ownership of this special collection, one's private gallery of famous men, vicariously confers and affirms peer status with those portrayed, and distinguishes the owner from the crowds of the picture books whose class privileges did not extend to either inclusion in or ownership of this special album.

IV. Conclusion

The Notman studio picture books portray an image of a social order prospering on an ideal of democratic values. Re-presenting bourgeois portrait photographs chronologically, successively, and in abundance marks a fundamental rupture in portraiture's visual traditions of social distinction. The order of the picture books enables Notman portrait photography, displayed en masse, to direct the comprehension and recognition of the rituals of bourgeois urban industrial life. By compiling the individual images in the manner it does, the picture book system makes visible the industrial nature of the manufacturing of images and, as such, represents visually the manner in which the society was reorganizing economically. The predominantly British and French-Canadian bourgeoisie, seeing their images produced and represented in a manner compatible with, and constitutive of, the urban industrial manufacturing process, find and recognize in the books a group identity. The manufacturing and ordering of infinite numbers of portrait images visually articulates the differentiation of the middle class of industrial capitalism from the aristocratic power that preceded it as well as the classes upon whose labour the middle class depended.

Photography was the bourgeoisie's own invention and means of representation. While content and composition functioned to preserve associations of power and privilege historically associated with portrait tradition, the technological nature of the process facilitated a commercial portrait industry and subsequently a more "truthful" visual portrayal of the distinctive characteristics of the class. In turn, acquisition of one's own such imagery – documented in the annals of the picture books – distinguished one as middle class. The books functioned in all respects like a registrar, confirming and authorizing class status.

The problem of differentiation within the group becomes apparent when other means of ordering are taken into consideration. Nuances of status and value are disclosed and celebrated in the portfolio of worthy men. Here an elite is made visible to an elite. The question is, did those bourgeoisie who were not public figures establish individual distinction in any way within the picture book registrar? The eminent British Americans were honoured and monumentalized with both a page for their image alone as well as a written biography to supplement the visual and titular descriptions. At the other end of the spectrum, members of the working class whose portraits were included in the books were distinguished as such by the manner in which their portraits were labelled according to their employment – "Mrs. Cowan's Nurse," for example – rather than by name.

In the closed ranks of the picture books, where images of the bourgeoisie are lined up so tightly that they almost touch one another, such photographs of labourers, be they domestic or industrial, are scarce. To be sure, there are a few, but they are rare indeed. There are some images of anonymous Victoria Bridge workers and some posed studio portraits of people dressed in the garments of particular trades, such as The Plasterer of 1862 and Montreal Carter of 1866 (Figures 18 and 19). These seem to be relatively abundant when isolated for viewing as part of a study of the building of the Victoria Bridge or as a sampling of imagery for a catalogue introducing the collection of the Notman Photographic Archives.[18] When the picture books are searched for such images, however, they are found to be rare.[19]

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[18] See Stanley Triggs, Brian Young, Conrad Graham, and Gilles Lauzon, Victoria Bridge: The Vital Link (Montreal: McCord Museum of Canadian History, 1992); and J. Russell Harper and Stanley Triggs, Portrait of a Period: A Collection of Notman Photographs 1856 to 1915 (Montreal: McGill University Press, 1967).

[19] Arthur Munby's late-nineteenth century project of gathering photographic images of labouring women in their work clothes is the subject of Michael Hiley, Victorian Working Women: Portraits from Life (London, 1979).

The anonymous plasterer's portrait is pasted on an album page amongst the usual array of bourgeois patron's images. The empty studio set in which the man stands in his work clothes with his trade tools, rather than in his "Sunday Best," suggests that he may have been asked to pose for this portrait while engaged in plastering work at the Notman studio. The carter's portrait is equally difficult to account for. It is a finely lit, carefully composed image framed to draw the viewer close to the subject who projects an engaging character and presence. The absence of professional attributes in their portrait photographs seems to define the bourgeoisie as much as the working class person is defined by the absence of name but portrayal in the uniform and amongst the tools of a trade, coupled with a descriptive, if anonymous title. Naming is a custom that privileges as it individualizes the bourgeois sitter amongst the bourgeois masses whereas costume and title distinguish the working class person on class terms in the same crowd. In the case of the *Montreal Carter* and *The Plasterer*, there is no visual or textual evidence that allows us today to ascertain whether the individuals portrayed in these studio portraits were really members of those trades. In contrast, an authenticity is lent to the photographs of the Victoria Bridge workers whose group images were made in situ, overshadowed by the behemoth they were constructing. Both studio portraits, then, seem to portray a type, a classification of worker, rather than an individual. The Montreal Carter definitely functioned this way in part at a later time because the name and negative number applied to the image shows that it was reproduced for public sale. Because the studio is named as "Notman and Son," this copy of the image shows that it was manufactured for sale after 1882 when William McFarlane Notman joined his father in a partnership.

These images of labourers predate the first sustained use of photography by the social reform movement in the 1890s. Prior to that time, there was little demand among photography consumers of the industrial middle class for images of working-class people and their environments. Furthermore, technical limitations of lighting, exposure times, and wet-plate processes also reduced the chances of photographers seeking subject matter in relatively dark urban environments outside the studio. Thus, social concern about the labourers' working or living conditions does not inform or account for the inclusion of these two images in the picture books. Instead, the plasterer and carter must have been "photographable" for different reasons. The image of the plasterer does not seem to have been reproduced for collectors and so may have served only as a private memento for the plasterer himself offered by the studio. Public interest in an image of a carter, however, might be tied to a specific historic event. In 1864, 1200 carters in Montreal went on strike, a large and prominent labour stoppage among many that disrupted the flow toward mechanization of many service jobs in Montreal during this period. The healthy, jolly portrait of this man is certainly a positive image that might be tied in some way to the conflict. However, nothing has come to light to indicate whether the portrait was offered for sale prior to the mid-1880s.

The few portraits of working people, as well as people of other than French-Canadian or British origins, suggests that equal opportunity makes it appearance and is argued for in a particular way in these picture books. These occasional entries signal particular notions about access and inclusion and seem to represent the active practice of such democratic ideals. The notion that photography served as a democratizing agent is scorned by Allan Sekula, however:

> [T]he new medium did not simply inherit and "democratize" the honorific functions of bourgeois portraiture. Nor did police photography simply function repressively.... But in more general, dispersed fashion, in serving to introduce the panoptic principle into daily life, photography welded the honorific and repressive functions together. Every portrait implicitly took its place within a social and moral hierarchy. The private moment of sentimental individuation, the look at the frozen gaze-of-the-loved one, was shadowed by two other more public looks: a look up, at one's "betters," and a look

> down, at one's "inferiors." Especially in the United States, photography could sustain an imaginary mobility on this vertical scale, thus provoking both ambition and fear, and interpellating, in classic terms, a characteristically "petit-bourgeois" subject.[20]

Sekula's theorization is particularly useful. While pursuing a general principle, he cautions against reducing the role of portrait photography to a binary, either/or characterization. Analyzing the nuances of similarity and difference, inclusions and exclusions in the Notman picture books and published portrait portfolios demonstrates that doing so would continue to mask a complex interplay of social interests that shift with sites of reception and experiences of viewing. The photographic ordering that was informed by mid-nineteenth century social needs and values obscured not only the radical nature of photographic portraiture but also the circumscriptions on access and inclusion within the social reordering that was underway. Subsequent critical assertions of the hierarchical reproduction that it assisted rather than eliminated are well founded.

The organization and presentation of commercial portrait photographs in the Notman picture books was neither predetermined nor innate. Instead, it emerged as a suitable method by which to fix the meaning and function of the system that it is employed to articulate. The ordering of portrait photographs that the viewer of the books consumes is set forth as a reflection of the society whose individual members it pictures and convenes. However, the tautological nature of this system, which claims by its nature to reflect a democratic social ordering, must be viewed instead as functioning in the service of that ordering.

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[20] Allan Sekula, "The Body and the Archive," October 39 (Winter 1986), 10.

CHAPTER 5

PHOTOGRAPHY, LABOUR, AND GENDER

The visual representation of a social order in which vertical mobility was accessible to all fell to the photography industry, a business arena that was introduced and established in the new era of capitalist industrialization and which had no precedent in the old forms of economic organization.[1] It was this "burden of representation," aptly named by John Tagg, that was taken up by photography.[2] This grand burden fell, in turn, on the individual studios that together produced the massive archives of nineteenth-century photographs and with them much of our idea of what that era was about. The organization and function of the photography industry were as much an influence on, as representative of, the social changes that accompanied the development of the large scale, factory-line nature of the production of goods. The social identification of women and men in the Notman picture books cannot be fully comprehended without an understanding of the reordering of social and economic spaces and roles that accompanied the industrial revolution in Montreal. The portraits of comfortable, well-dressed people that make up the picture books, such as Miss Findlay's Group (Figure 9) and Notman and Sons (Figure 2), abstain from any reference to the means by which such a society and the sitters' positions within it were attained. The picture books themselves occlude the labour-intensive nature of the photography industry in particular and the industrial economy in general.

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[1] A version of Chapters 5 and 6 has been published. Colleen Skidmore, "Women Workers in Notman's Studio: Young Ladies of the Printing Room," History of Photography 20 (Summer 1996), 122-128.

[2] John Tagg, The Burden of Representation: Essays on Photographies and Histories (London: Macmillan Education Ltd., 1988).

The system of organizing and labelling the images in the picture books establishes that which can be known about a society but it also screens much. The terms of this knowledge are hinted at in the absences and gaps.[3] Among those things made unknowable here is the name of the photographer responsible for the manufacturing of each portrait. It is impossible, for example, to know which portraits William Notman himself made over the years and which were the work of his staff. Furthermore, an entire team of workers was involved in a portrait's production - preparing, exposing and developing the negative plates, and printing, cutting, mounting, numbering, and labelling the images. Every photograph passed through the hands of developing, printing, mounting, framing, and clerical staff. However, only the studio's name, printed on the card or image, is displayed in the end. Presentation of a house style assures consumers that they are purchasing a consistent and reliable product that is not dependent upon the presence of particular individual workers.

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[3] Michel Foucault, The Archaeology of Knowledge and the Discourse on Language, [1969] trans. A.M. Sheridan Smith (New York: Pantheon Books, 1972), 129.

A system of anonymous production such as this works to benefit especially the patron and the studio owner. It is not just the studio's name but, more precisely, the name of the owner, "Notman," that is printed on each image. The patron enjoys the prestige of direct association with the Notman name - one of the finest photography studios in North America - while the owner garners credit for the quality of production and, inevitably, for the production itself. Moreover, the owner's personal social prestige, initially founded on the financial success of the business, itself an organizing and sorting characteristic of an evolving industrial capitalist society, was heightened by the high status of patrons who attended his studio.

At the same time, scattered among the 160,000 images made by the Notman studio between 1860 and 1880, are about two dozen portraits of women who worked for the Notman establishment during that period - women whose labour made and fixed the photographic imaging of their society. These photographs do not stand out in the picture books. The Notman studio women share the poses, expressions, dress, coiffures and attributes of the bourgeois and petit-bourgeois women who were Notman clients. What further identifies these as employed women is textual evidence that gives them identifying characteristics not evident in the description offered by the photographs.

Historians agree that women's roles changed significantly in later nineteenth-century Montreal. A fundamental element of these changes was the opportunity for paid employment and the conditions of such employment that emerged with industrialization. This chapter seeks to determine the role of photography as an industrial employer of women in Montreal. Attitudes towards the employment of women in the photography industry in England and North America and the effect of these attitudes on opportunities are first considered. Characteristics of women workers at Notman's studio, such as ethnicity, language, age, and marital status are then recovered and analyzed to determine the kinds of women who sought out and obtained employment in that sector. Finally, women's wages, labour, and occupational mobility in comparison to Notman's men employees are examined in an attempt to clarify the employment possibilities available to women in the early years of the photography industry.

I. Women in Photography

In 1871, 16.7% of all women in Montreal worked in industrial occupations, as did 20.5% of girls under age sixteen, 28% of boys under sixteen, and 45.8% of men.[4] Women also worked in significant numbers in sectors other than industry. For example, 6.4% of all women and girls were employed in domestic service (as servants, housekeepers, or cooks), virtually an exclusively female occupation.[5] Women worked as prostitutes as well. In 1875, 245 women worked in brothels in Montreal.[6] Some women with access to capital were entrepreneurs who operated small businesses such as boarding houses and grocery stores. Others reported employment as office or store clerks.[7] Exact numbers have yet to be recovered. The only professional occupation open to women was teaching. Women made up 68% of teachers in the public system in the province of Quebec in 1856, and 78% in 1878.[8] Like teaching and domestic work, social service - caring for the poor, the disabled, the ill, and children - was predominantly the venue of women. This area was staffed for the most part by nuns although some lay women were employed to run Catholic charities. In 1871, 0.9% of women over age twenty in the province of Quebec were nuns.[9]

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[4] Elizabeth Bloomfield, Canadian Industry in 1871: Canadian Women in Workshops (University of Guelph, 1991), 28.

[5] D. Suzanne Cross, "The Neglected Majority: The Changing Role of Women in Nineteenth-Century Montreal," The Canadian City: Essays in Urban and Social History. Gilbert A. Stelter and Alan F.J. Artibise, eds., Ottawa: Carleton University Press, 1984, Table III, 313. First published in Histoire sociale/Social History VI, 3 (November 1973).

[6] Micheline Dumont et. al (The Clio Collective), Quebec Women: A History, trans. Roger Gannon and Rosalind Gill (Toronto: The Women's Press, 1987), 170.

Overall, the greatest concentration of female and male employment alike was in industry. In 1871, women and girls constituted 34% of the industrial labour force in Montreal, that is, 7,309 of approximately 21,000 workers.[10] This compares with Quebec City where 27% of industrial workers were women and Toronto with 25% women.[11] The Industrial Schedule of the 1871 census of Canada was the first to report the gender of employees in industrial establishments and is one of the few sources of such information. The Notman studio wages books supply this information as well. Like the wages books, the census does not indicate the specific jobs or the gender breakdown of jobs done by workers in any industry. However, the census does show that among the largest industrial employers, women were for the most part absent from the labour pools of mills, breweries, distilleries, metals fabricating and machinery production, and transportation equipment industries.[12] Instead, women's labour is found concentrated elsewhere; women made up 32% of tobacco industry employees, 37.6% in boot and shoe manufacturing, 67.6% in the rubber industry, 69.1% in textiles, and, largest of all, 80.6% of garment industry employees.[13] Furthermore, women tended to be clustered within specific positions in the industries in which they were employed and fully excluded from others.[14] The greater proportion of women in the garment industry, for example, sewed garments at home while men worked in the factories where the pieces were cut. A similar pattern will be seen to have been present in the photography industry.

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[7] Cross, "Neglected Majority," 319.

[8] Dumont et. al, Quebec Women, 165. In general between 1853 and 1900, the wages of women teachers, who were clustered for the most part in the primary grades, were 40% that of men, who generally worked with older children or in administration.

[9] Marta Danylewycz, Taking the Veil (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1987), 17. I have not been able to obtain a specific figure for Montreal alone.

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[10] Bettina Bradbury, Working Families: age, gender, and daily survival in industrializing Montreal (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1993), 29.

[11] Bloomfield, Canadian Women, 81.

[12] Ibid., 57-65.

[13] Cross, "Neglected Majority," 314, 316.

In April 1871 in Montreal, just ninety-four people were employed in photography studios: seventy-six men and thirteen women, as well as four boys and one girl under age sixteen. (See Appendix C.) In short, 14.9% of the photography labour force was female, less than half that of the overall employment rate of women in industry reported in Montreal that year. Women and girls were employed at four of the twelve studios. Over half of the entire photography labour force in Montreal was employed at Notman's. Of the fifty-one employees, there were forty-five men, five women, no boys, and one girl. These numbers translate into an 11% female employment rate, one-third that of industry in general. The highest rate of women's employment was at J.G. Parks's studio where three out of eight employees, or 37.5%, were women. At Alexander Henderson's, one of the three employees (33%) was a woman and at James Inglis's four of eighteen employees (22%) were women. Every studio but one with more than two employees had a woman on staff in April 1871.

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[14] Bradbury, Working Families, 30.

The problem is how to identify and classify the jobs performed by the women and men employed in photography production in Montreal and at Notman's studio specifically. The 1871 census summarized occupations in the census report in five categories: Agricultural, Domestic, Industrial, Professional, and Commercial (as well as a sixth, "Not Classified" category). Photography galleries were included in the Industrial category. Census organizers in Canada, as well as the United States and England, faced difficulties in attempting to classify occupations during the industrializing period when modes of production were in transition, new labour functions emerging, and old ones disappearing. The sixth "Not Classified" category is a trace of the problem. The work done by photography workers, for example, had emerged only in the mid-1850s with the collodion/albumen process and consumer demand for photographic prints.

Facing the same difficulties, Bettina Bradbury has reclassified the occupations reported in the census according to two criteria: relationship to capital and skill levels.[15] Nine major categories are set out: "Proprietors and Other Representing them or living off Capital;" "Professionals;" "Commercial Employees - Those Working for Commercial Capitalists;" "State Employees/Public Service;" "Private Service/Other Service;" "Crafts/Skilled Workers;" "Injured Trades;" "Semi-Skilled;" and, "Unskilled." One might expect photography studio workers, at least those involved in the skilled labour area of the manufacturing of the photographic negatives and prints, from photographers to print mounters, to be included in the "Crafts/Skilled Workers" category. Artisan, bookbinder, cabinetmaker, engraver and lithographer, goldsmith, printer, painter, roofer, and sculptor are a few examples of the occupations included in this listing. Painters were among those employed in photography studio art departments to hand colour prints and touch up negatives. However, the two other job descriptions that are reported in the census by Notman employees, "photographer" and "clerk" (a title used in a variety of businesses that does not seem to denote a specific function or skill) are included in a different category, "Commercial Employees - Those Working for

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[15] Bettina Bradbury, "The Working Class Family Economy, Montreal, 1861-1881" (Ph.D. disseration, Concordia University, 1984), Table B.1, 492-495.

Commercial Capitalists."[16] Photographers and clerks share their category with, among others, accountants, bookkeepers, chemists, florists, salespersons, ushers, and "work in shop." Including photographers and clerks in the same category implies similar levels of skill; it does not mean, however, that both men and women were hired in each position or that the positions offered equal pay and opportunities for advancement.

An 1875 photograph of the Notman Studio Exterior is a deliberate public record and display of the Notman studio's business site (Figure 20). Two well-dressed men, patrons perhaps, are entering the establishment. Many figures are pictured working in the windows above, half of whom are women. One woman is visible at work on the second storey, while at the windows along the upper storey two women appear to be examining pressed prints; another is looking out through a window between two banks of developing prints. Women at work is an integral part of the public image manufactured by the studio. Their presence is clearly and deliberately on display.

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[16] A contradiction in Bradbury's organization emerges here as photography studio proprietors are classified in the sub category of "Production" rather than "Commercial" proprietors. Given that the photography business was both a manufacturing and commercial enterprise, the photographic proprietor could properly be included in both categories just as photography employees were both skilled workers and commercial employees.

A description of Notman's establishment in the 1865 publication Montreal Business Sketches reports that employed on the second floor at the front of the building were

> many engaged in printing, mounting, re-touching and pressing photographs....In the flat above, printing by the solar camera is conducted...On the same flat are rooms for keeping stock, for preparing paper, and for packing portraits going a distance.[17]

In 1863, Oliver Wendell Holmes wrote of a tour he had made of one of North America's largest photography establishments, E. and H.T. Anthony's of New York. Both the Montreal Business Sketches' account and Holmes's description of the factory-line nature of photograph production are noteworthy for their matter-of-fact attitude towards the mix of genders working the production lines. For example, in Anthony's upper rooms there was

> a row of young women before certain broad, shallow pans filled with the glairy albumen...The one next us [sic] takes a large sheet of photographic paper...and floats it evenly on the surface of the albumen. Presently she lifts it very carefully by the turned-up corners and hangs it bias, as a seamstress might say, that is, cornerwise, on a string, to dry. This "albumenized" paper is sold most extensively to photographers, who find it cheaper to buy than to prepare it.[18]

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[17] Montreal Business Sketches (Montreal: Canada Railway Advertising Co., 1865), 26.

[18] Oliver Wendell Holmes, "Doings of the Sunbeam," The Atlantic Monthly 12 (July 1863), 1.

In another building, workers were printing pictures from negatives, along with manufacturing photographic albums, cases for portraits, and parts of cameras:

> Each single process in the manufacture of elaborate products of skill oftentimes seems and is very simple. The workmen in large establishments, where labor is greatly subdivided, become wonderfully adroit in doing a fraction of something....A young person who mounts photographs on cards all day long confessed to having never, or almost never, seen a negative developed, though standing at the time within a few feet of the dark closet where the process was going on all day long. One forlorn individual will perhaps pass his days in the single work of cleaning the glass plates for negatives. Almost at his elbow is a toning bath, but he would think it a good joke, if you asked him whether a picture had lain long enough in the solution of gold or hyposulphite.[19]

Two engravings illustrating different parts of the Anthony operation, the case covering and finishing room and the case gilding room, show women and men working alongside one another, although the vast majority of workers are women (Figures 21 and 22). Although a small minority in Montreal in comparison to women's overall participation in the industrial labour force, women working in the photography industry were not unusual; their presence certainly did not elicit comment in these descriptions. However, their comparatively low numbers does provoke the question of why women did not participate in larger numbers in this new field of production and employment that was not encumbered by an established male claim.

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[19] Ibid., 2.

In 1839, Daguerre had encouraged the inclusion of women in photography:

> By this process, without any idea of drawing, without any knowledge of chemistry and physics, it will be possible to take in a few minutes the most detailed views, the most picturesque scenery, for the manipulation is simple and does not demand any special knowledge, only care and a little practice is necessary in order to succeed perfectly....
>
> ...the leisured class will find it a most attractive occupation, and although the result is obtained by chemical means, the little work it entails will greatly please ladies.[20]

Nevertheless, professional women photographers, let alone assistants or apprentices, were rare in the 1860s and 1870s.[21] None of the staff photographers hired by Notman were women, and not one of the owners of photographic establishments in Montreal at the time of the census in April 1871 was a woman.[22] (See Appendix B.)

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[20] Louis Jacques Mandé Daguerre, "Daguerreotype," (1839) in Classic Essays on Photography, ed. Alan Trachtenberg (New Haven, Connecticut: Leete's Island Books, 1980), 12-13.

[21] The best known and most successful woman among Notman's contemporaries in Lower Canada was Élise L'Heureux Livernois of Quebec City who opened a daguerreotype studio in spring of 1857. Her husband, Jules-Isaï Benoit Livernois, opened a photography studio in 1860 which she continued to operate following his death in 1865. See Michel Lessard, Les Livernois, Photographes (Québec: Musée du Québec, 1987).

Laura Jones notes in Rediscovery: Canadian Women Photographers 1841-1941 (London, Ont.: London Regional Art Gallery, 1983), 5, that fourteen women were working as professional photographers in Quebec and Ontario by the 1860s.

In an important essay on the relationship of women and photography in Ontario prior to 1929, Diana Pedersen and Martha Phemister have demonstrated that women's serious involvement with the new technology in its earliest decades was tempered by its close association with science even though part of its great appeal as a middle-class amusement was its place within the scientific wonders that captured nineteenth-century leisured imaginations.[23] Photography required chemical expertise beyond that to which women were educated. (The many incidents of darkroom fires and explosions, however, attest that not every man was sufficiently schooled in the science of the medium either.)

An especially significant nineteenth-century Canadian photographer, Hannah Maynard, was active in Victoria between 1862 and 1912. See Petra Rigby Watson, The Photographs of Hannah Maynard (Vancouver: Charles H. Scott Gallery, 1992).

See also Naomi Rosenblum, A History of Women Photographers (New York: Abbeville Press Publishers, 1994).

[22] Elizabeth Bloomfield and G.T. Bloomfield, Canind71 (database) (University of Guelph, 1990).

[23] Diana Pedersen and Martha Phemister, "Women and Photography in Ontario, 1839-1929: A Case Study of the Interaction of Gender and Technology," in Despite the Odds: Essays on Canadian Women and Science, ed. Marianne Gosztonyi Ainley (Montreal: Véhicule Press, 1990), 91.

Photography industry trade journals were at best ambivalent about women working in the photography industry. In 1870, the Photographic News of London found photography to be a suitable site of employment for women but in a limited capacity; women's employment in the negative and print production areas, such as in the studio and the printing room, was actively discouraged:

> There are, perhaps, few industries better suited to the power of women than photography, and a few in which they are more generally employed - at least, in such branches as they have been found on trials to succeed. Most of the duties require taste and skill rather than strength, and might be supposed to be pre-eminently fitted to the feminine capacity. In mounting, tinting and retouching it is certain that they succeed; and in those duties - such as printing or operating, in which care, judgment and knowledge are required - the success has been much more qualified....I have heard of cases in which female labour in printing has been tried and abandoned. The reasons alleged have been that there is a general lack of care and precision, a singular want of uniformity in the results, involving the necessity of condemning as waste much of the work produced. It is alleged that it is very difficult to induce girls or women to feel the necessity of working with precision to a certain even standard of excellence....Women have not succeeded as printers. I fear that the cause once pointed out by the Editor of this journal must always, in greater or lesser degree, militate against the success of female labour in any industry requiring the skill which can only be attained by close application and experience. A girl rarely regards any industrial occupation upon which she enters as her business for life. Marriage, as a rule, is her final aim....[24]

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[24] [No title], The Photographic News (London) (4 April 1870), 417, in David Lee, "The Victorian Studio: 2," The British Journal of Photography 133 (14 February 1986), 188.

By 1873, Jabez Hughes confirmed in an article titled "Photography as an Industrial Occupation for Women," published in both the London Photographic News and Anthony's Photographic Bulletin in the United States that women's full participation in the new industry had been circumscribed for reasons other than poor application and conscientiousness, however, when he expressed the general notion that "though it is admitted that women can do everything photographic, yet there are certain portions where ill-smelling chemicals and dress-disfiguring solutions are used, that are better conducted by the rougher sex."[25] That being said, Hughes's purpose in writing his article was to argue that photography

> is a field exactly suited to even the conventional notions of women's capacity, and further, that it is a field unsurrounded with traditional rules, with apprenticeship, with vested rights, and it is one in which there is no sexual hostility to their employment. It is a business easily learnt, moderately well paid, and affording scope for all gradations of skill and ability.[26]

That is, photography was "a very proper and legitimate field" in which women could earn a living.[27] Jabez Hughes estimated that approximately one-third of photographic assistants, as he labelled their positions, were women. He believed that one-half of the photographic labour force should be female but attributed the lower numbers to

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[25] Jabez Hughes, "Photography as an Industrial Occupation for Women," (1873) Camera Fiends & Kodak Girls: 50 Selections By and About Women in Photography, 1840 to 1930, ed. Peter E. Palmquist (New York: Midmarch Arts Press, 1989), 32.

[26] Ibid., 36. (Hughes's emphasis.)

[27] Ibid., 32.

> the want of better women - women with more brains, more carefully directed energies...The many women who excel in it show that it is adapted to their capacity, and, speaking from a very extended experience, the main reason that more are not employed is because we cannot obtain them in sufficient numbers possessing the requisite business capacity to exactly understand their position, and act accordingly.[28]

Hughes's analysis, frustratingly vague, suggests that women's participation was in fact circumscribed by set expectations of women's intelligence and place.

II. Women at Notman's

The Misses Brown, employed at the Notman studio between 1866 and 1882, offer, on the basis of textual and visual evidence, more information than most about the type of woman employed there. The literary sources of information about the Brown sisters and their co-workers are limited. No known diaries or letters remain. Instead, references are confined to the Notman staff wages books and to the Canadian censuses taken at ten-year intervals. Both sources must be

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[28] Ibid., 35.

read circumspectly, with an eye to the nature of the information recorded and the social assumptions and presumptions made. For example, the wages books list the most prominent and highly paid male staff first. As well, men's first names are usually used. Women are generally identified by their marital titles; widowed women's first names and initials are usually absent; single women's first names or initials are often, but not always, included.[29] A third potential source of information, the annual Montreal city directory, is of little assistance because it listed only male heads of households with their addresses and occupations, and some, but not all, widowed women. The information culled from the wages books and censuses, when combined with the photographs, offers an insightful and articulate representation of a particular segment of Montreal society, the employed petit-bourgeois woman.

Notman's staff wages books show Maggie Brown employed from 1866 to 1871; Mary from 1868 to 1876; and Jessie from 1871 to 1882.[30] Either Maggie or Mary was employed again from 1879 to 1882 as the widowed Mrs. Stenton. The nominal rolls of the 1871 Manuscript Census of Canada record the widow Mary Brown, 49, from Scotland, without occupation, living with her three single daughters.[31] The Browns lived just a few blocks from Notman's at 10 Anderson - one block east of Bleury, south of Dorchester. The eldest, Maggie, is entered in the census by her formal Christian name, Margaret, age 22, born in Quebec of Scottish origin and listed as a "clerk," as is her sister, Mary, 20. The youngest, "Jessey," whose name appears to have been misspelled by the enumerator, was at age 14 going to school. Although Jessie is listed in the Notman wages books in 1871, it is not until 18 August, four months after the census.[32]

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[29] For a critical accounting of the encoding of biases in British census materials see Edward Higgs, "Women, Occupations and Work in the Nineteenth Century Censuses," History Workshop 23 (Spring 1987): 59-80.

[30] Maggie was entered in the wages books from 16 June 1866 (at \$5 biweekly) until 28 April 1871 (\$8 biweekly); Mrs. Stenton from 13 June 1879 (\$9) to 4 August 1882 (\$10); Mary from 31 October 1868 (\$7) to 21 April 1876 (\$11); and Jessie from 18 August 1871 (\$6) to 29 September 1882 (\$12).

Ten years later, the 1881 Manuscript Census lists the widowed Mrs. William Brown, with no occupation, living with a Mrs. Robert Stenton, 30, widowed and employed as a clerk, and Jessie Brown, also employed as a clerk.[33] There is no mention of "Margaret" or "Mary." Mrs. Stenton would have been one of these women. She did not work at Notman's during the period of her marriage, and appears to have returned to her mother's home and her earlier employment upon widowhood.

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[31] Manuscript Census of Canada, 1870-71, National Archives of Canada microfilm reel C-10048, Montreal West, St. Laurent Quarter, Division 2, Sub-District 106, pp. 29-30.

[32] Therefore, Jessie would not be the girl under age sixteen noted as working at Notman's in Schedule Six of industrial establishments' employees. The census recorded that living in the same building as the Browns in 1871 was a working class family of six from England (the adult male was a brass molder, no occupation was listed for the female adult) and a forty-year old male gardener.

Mrs. Stenton and Sister (Jessie Brown) is a cabinet portrait made in 1880 while both were working at Notman's as "clerks" (Figure 23). The women are seated formally, leaning against the back of a well-stuffed chair and gazing, in three-quarter profile, away from the viewer. The portrait speaks of intimacy and financial comfort: the younger sister, Miss Brown, about twenty-four years of age, rests closely behind Mrs. Stenton (about age thirty), her arm encircling the older woman's shoulder. Both are well attired. Mrs. Stenton's dress with its button-and-gathering detailing down the front and pleated, layered cuffs is shown to advantage. Rings, bracelets, necklaces, earrings, brooches and hair accessories - luxurious details - are in abundance and especially eye-catching. The pose and attributes that formally denote this portrait describe a close, personal relationship and inscribe a bourgeois social position.

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[33] Manuscript Census of Canada, 1880-81, National Archives of Canada microfilm reel C-13220, Montreal West, St. Laurent Quarter, Division 2, p. 72.

Another example is the photograph of Miss Annie Bell, thirty-two years of age in 1871, and a Notman employee from 1867 to 1871 and again from 1872 to 1875 (Figure 24).[34] Only one Miss Anne Bell is recorded in the census of 1871 in the quarters of the city surrounding Notman's studio. Miss Anne Bell lived with her mother, the widowed Mrs. Anne Bell, at 108 St. Urbain within walking distance of Notman's on Bleury. Miss Anne Bell was of Scottish origin and Presbyterian faith and, according to the census, neither she nor her mother was employed.[35] Notman's wages books indicate otherwise. Miss Bell's photograph portrays once again a well-dressed woman, comfortably ensconced in a warm interior further bound by the oval framing and engaged in album viewing. On the surface, she is portrayed as a woman at leisure enjoying the family album. Yet, a conceit is at play here for the woman portrayed also had a professional interest in photographs. The secondary representation of photography reinscribes consumption of such imagery within the portrait photograph itself.

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[34] Notman's wages books record Miss Annie Bell's employment from 20 April 1867 ($7 biweekly) to 18 August 1871 ($8 biweekly) and again from 16 August 1872 ($8 biweekly) to 21 May 1875 ($9 biweekly). Gaps in employment periods for women workers are not infrequent in the Notman wages books.

[35] Manuscript Census of Canada, 1870-71, National Archives of Canada microfilm reel C-10048, Montreal West, St. Laurent Quarter, Division 3, 71. Mrs. and Miss Bell shared their residence with Henry and Susan Gifford, a couple in their early thirties with no children. He was employed as a "clerk;" no occupation was listed for Susan Gifford.

Portraits of employee Miss Caroline Bowie of 1870 and 1872 bear a similarity to that of Miss Annie Bell (Figures 25 and 26). Miss Bowie's half-length carte-de-visite image portrays a literate woman looking up from the letter that she is holding to direct an intense gaze to the right of the viewer. In the larger cabinet portrait, Miss Bowie's again concentrated gaze attracts the viewer to her eyes. Neatly coifed hair and a lace collar and necklace enclose and direct attention to the face; an oval vignetted frame again encircles the whole. The portrayals of Miss Bowie's dress, pose, and literacy, along with the marital status imparted by the title alongside her name, suggest a young woman of bourgeois standing. Her occupational status, if any, is not so much as hinted at here.

Miss Bowie worked at Notman's from 1869 to 1873.[36] She was not listed in Mackay's Montreal Directory during any of these years, of course, but one would expect to find her name entered in the nominal rolls of the census of 1871. Mackay's shows nine listings for "Bowie" in 1871-72.[37] Of those that also appear in the census, none record a Caroline. Her absence might be related to the absence from the census of the three Bowie men who were listed by Mackay's as living at 44 Bleury, just up the street from Notman's.[38] In the census, however, 44 Bleury is nowhere enumerated. Miss Bowie may well have been a sister of one of these men: George Bowie, a contractor, or John or Charles Bowie, of J. Bowie and Bro., a livery stable. If so, she was the sister of a petit-bourgeois entrepreneur and found employment at a neighbouring establishment.

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[36] Notman's wages books record Miss Caroline Bowie from 30 October 1869 at $7 biweekly to 25 April 1873, still at $7 biweekly.

The absence of a woman's occupational listing in the census, as was the case with Miss Annie Bell, is not necessarily indicative of the absence of employment. Like the absence of women's listings in the directories, such missing information underlines the value placed on men's labour and interaction in the economic community in comparison to that of women. It does not indicate or prove that women of both working and middle classes did not contribute a significant portion of paid (and unpaid) labour in the new industrializing economic structure. Discrepancies between the number of individual women with occupations reported in the census nominal rolls and the number reported by employers in the industrial rolls shows that many women's occupations were not noted by enumerators in spite of the instruction to enumerators in 1871 that "[i]n the case of women...[i]f they have a special occupation, such as seamstress, clerk, factory hand, &c., then it should be entered accordingly."[39]

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[37] Mackay's Montreal Directory for 1871-1872 (Corrected to 30 June 1871) (Montreal: John Lovell, 1871): 246. The census was taken 2 April 1871.

[38] Ibid.

Census takers' assumptions about women's labour affected what questions were asked and the specific information sought about each family member. The superintendent of the 1870 United States Census, Francis A. Walker, explained the discrepancies in figures that also appeared there:

> It is taken for granted that every man has an occupation....It is precisely the other way around with women and young children. The assumption is, as the fact generally is, that they are not engaged in remunerative employments. Those who are so engaged constitute the exception, and it follows from a plain principle of human nature, that assistant marshals will not infrequently forget or neglect to ask the question...[40]

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[39] Canadian Parliament, "Manual Containing the Census Act and Instructions," Sessional Papers (Commons), No. 64, Vol. IV, Pt. 6, 1871, 134.

[40] Francis A. Walker, Ninth Census of the United States, 1870, 374. Elizabeth Bloomfield and G.T. Bloomfield cite this passage and caution analysts about discrepancies in the 1871 Manuscript Census of Canada in Canadian Women in Workshops, Mills and Factories: The Evidence of the 1871 Census Manuscripts (University of Guelph, 1991), 16-17.

In contrast to the situation of single women, occupations of widowed women were more frequently recorded. For example, the widowed Mrs. Margaret Houston, 40, from Scotland worked as a "saleswoman" according to the 1881 Census of Montreal's St. Laurent Ward, again within walking distance of the Notman studio.[41] A Mrs. Houston, of whom there is no photograph, is also listed in Notman's wage book from 9 July 1880 to 13 May 1881 at $7 biweekly. According to the census, Mrs. Houston lived with her son Robert, 17, also born in Scotland and employed as a "clerk." Mrs. Houston and Robert lived at a residence with seventeen other people, all women with no children, including four widows. Six were of English origin, eight Scottish, three Irish, and two American. Three saleswomen were listed, one clerk (Robert), five seamstresses, one sick nurse, one dressmaker, one "forewoman," one servant, and one silkweaver. In other words, all of these Anglo-Saxon women were self-supporting employees in the sectors where women's employment was concentrated: retail, domestic, social services, and industry, especially the clothing trades.[42]

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[41] Manuscript Census of Canada, 1880-1881. National Archives of Canada microfilm reel C-13220, Montreal West, St. Laurent Quarter, Division 3, p. 32.

A newspaper article, "Female Labour in Toronto," Globe (Toronto), 28 October 1868, listed suggested occupations for women including "photograph mounting" and "selling over the counter." In Pioneer and Gentlewomen of British North America 1713-1867, eds. Beth Light and Alison Prentice (Toronto: New Hogtown Press, 1980), 197.

The first woman identified to have worked for the Notman photographic studio in Montreal was Mrs. Burns, of whom there is no known photograph. She is the first woman listed in the wages books after they were started in 1863, following the studio's establishment in 1856. Mrs. Burns joined the staff in October 1864 and remained for nineteen years. She was not, however, the first woman to work at Notman's. William Notman reported in the 1860-61 Manuscript Census of the Canadas that the firm had employed an average of thirty men and three women during 1860. In 1860, Notman's total payroll for male employees was an average of $1,200 per month and for female employees an average of $30 per month. Women's average wages, then, were one-quarter that of men.[43] This is the earliest record available of Notman's staff and establishes that women workers were a constant, if small, element of the studio's structure.

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[42] See Bettina Bradbury's discussion of survival methods for widows in "Surviving as a Widow in Nineteenth-Century Montreal," Urban History Review 17 (February 1989): 148-60.

[43] Manuscript Census of the Canadas, 1860-1861, National Archives of Canada microfilm reel C-1243, Montreal St. Laurent Ward, District 28, No. 3, 9 Bleury, n.p.

Although Mrs. Burns was not the first woman employed at Notman's, her circumstances, when pieced together, demonstrate not only many of the shared characteristics of Notman's women employees, but also the instability of their social identities. The second firm bit of textual evidence concerning Mrs. Burns was entered in the 1871 Manuscript Census of Canada, seven years after her appearance in Notman's wage book. Here a Mrs. Margaret Burns is recorded, age 50, born in Ireland, of Roman Catholic faith, widowed, and employed as a "caretaker." Her place of residence is listed as 17 and 19 Bleury Street - the addresses of the Notman studio and the residence next door, owned by William Notman. She is recorded as living at this address with two children born in Ireland: Margaret, 13, who was attending school, and Edward, 16, employed as a "photographer."[44]

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[44] Manuscript Census of Canada 1870-71, National Archives of Canada microfilm reel C-10048, Montreal West, St. Laurent Quarter, Division 2, 11. Notman's studio address had been 9 Bleury until 1864 when a general renumbering of Montreal's streets took place. See John Lovell, "Preface," Mackay's Montreal Directory for 1865-66 (Montreal: John Lovell, 1865), n.p. Number 9 became Number 17. The neighbouring building, formerly Number 11, which Notman also owned and where John Notman had been recorded as living in 1864 (Mackay's Montreal Directory for 1864-65, Corrected to 1 July 1864, (Montreal: John Lovell, 1864), 37), became Number 19. Mackay's Directory for 1865-66, 313, records the photographer Samuel Jarvis as living at this address. Jarvis was employed by Notman from at least as early as 15 August 1863 (at $16 biweekly) until 9 February 1867 ($25 biweekly) and again from 14 May 1870 to 1 October 1870 (at $34 biweekly). He moved into 19 Bleury sometime

The listing for Mrs. Burns in the 1871 Census contrasts markedly with that of 1860-61.[45] In 1861, she is listed in the St. Laurent ward rolls, without note of occupation, as forty years of age and married to Edward Burns, forty-eight, a carpenter from Dublin. Living with them in a brick, two-storey home were three daughters, ages twelve, eight, and three, and a son, age seven.[46] Mackay's Montreal Directory for 1861-62 shows the carpenter Edward Burns living in the St. Laurent ward at 44 Hermine.[47] By 1863, the family had moved to a "Lane off 85 Colborne Street."[48] But in 1864, there is no Edward Burns, carpenter, listed. Neither is there a Mrs. Margaret Burns, widowed or otherwise. Because the Burns family disappeared from the public directory, one must surmise that Margaret Burns was widowed between mid-1863 and mid-1864 and began living and working as a

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after 1 July 1864. Other residents, such as Mrs. Burns, were not listed by Mackay's.

[45] Manuscript Census of the Canadas, 1860-61, National Archives of Canada microfilm reel C-1244, Montreal, St. Laurent Ward, District 35, p. 299.

[46] In this census, unlike in 1871, the children are recorded as having been born in Lower Canada (Quebec), of Irish origin.

[47] Mackay's Montreal Directory for 1861-62 (Corrected May and June 1861) (Montreal: John Lovell, 1861), 41.

[48] Mackay's Montreal Directory for 1863-64 (Corrected to July, 1863) (Montreal: John Lovell, 1863), 66.

caretaker at Notman's sometime thereafter. Whether she had been employed prior to this is nowhere recorded. However, her new employment as caretaker at Notman's is clear evidence that while ranked as artisanal during her marriage, by virtue of her husband's trade, Mrs. Burns's status slipped to that of domestic labourer upon widowhood.

By 1871, Mrs. Burns's two eldest children were no longer living with her. Only Edward, 16, and Margaret, 13, remained. In addition, between 1867 and 1878 two more employees by the name of Burns appear in the Notman wages books. One was Mr. Edward Burns, listed from 9 March 1867 at $4 biweekly to 4 December 1874 at $14 biweekly. The other was Miss M. Burns, listed between 7 November 1873 and 29 November 1878. She earned $4 biweekly through her five years of employment. These two were no doubt Mrs. Burns's youngest children.

A Mr. Burns had his portrait made in 1867, the year that thirteen-year-old Edward Burns took up employment with Notman's (Figure 27). This full-length cabinet image portrays an urbane-looking young man, confidently posed, engaging the eye of the viewer directly, and nattily dressed with walking stick in hand and watch fob on display, gloves and bowler hat at hand, shoes sparkling. The background is impersonal and simple in contrast to Mr. Burns's accoutrements: a bit of curtain, a decorative piece of furniture at waist height, and a draped table. The portrait describes a young man of business. There is not enough evidence available to determine whether this is Edward's personal portrait. Age and the financial status of Edward and his mother make it dubious.[49]

Edward Burns's occupation was entered in the 1871 manuscript census as "photographer."[50] His wage during the first week of April 1871 when the census was taken was just $6 biweekly - the same wage his mother was earning as caretaker, and one to two dollars less than that being paid "clerks" Maggie and Mary Brown, as well as Annie Bell and Caroline Bowie. It was also significantly less than the wages being paid to the men known to have been photographers at Notman's at that time: John Hayden and James Query were each earning $24.00 biweekly, William Baltzly $28.00, Samuel Jarvis $40.00, and Edward Sharpe $52.00.[51] Edward Burns's wage, however, falls within the parameters of earnings of men known to have been apprentice photographers (or operators, as they were then called) during the same period, such as Dennis Bourdon who received $5 biweekly on joining Notman's in 1868 and William McFarlane Notman, William Notman's eldest son, who began his apprenticeship at $8 biweekly in 1873. Edward could well have been an apprentice or an assistant operator.

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[49] There is also a portrait of a Miss Burns made in 1879, the year after the young Margaret left Notman's at age twenty (Figure 28). The Miss Burns portrayed, however, is much older.

[50] Manuscript Census of Canada 1870-71, National Archives of Canada microfilm reel C-10048, Montreal West, St. Laurent Quarter, Division 2, p. 11.

[51] Notman Wages Books for April 1871.

III. Staff Photographers and Occupational Mobility

Although a steady employer of women, Notman's studio limited their range of work and possibilities for advancement. Women are noticeably absent among the photographers employed at the Notman studio not only between 1856 and 1881, the period under study here, but throughout its history. The position of operator or assistant was the exclusive venue of men. Male photographers held the elite positions in the photography studio. Only the salaries and prestige of staff artists - predominantly and possibly exclusively male - approached or surpassed those of the staff photographer.

In April 1871, photographers at Notman's were earning between $32 and $52 biweekly. Women's wages never reached these levels between 1860 and 1880. Between 1864 and 1880, only two women received wages that even approached these and which would suggest positions of greater prestige. They would certainly not have worked as photographers but perhaps in the art department as negative retouchers. A Mrs. Bethgay is listed in the wages books receiving $30 biweekly between 22 December 1871 and 12 April 1872. And between 14 April 1871 and 1 September 1871, a Miss Cooper was paid $15.38 biweekly - half of Mrs. Bethgay's wage but almost double that of the printing room women five years later. With the exception of these two - whose brief employment periods are also unusual - women's wages ranged from $3 to $10 biweekly during that twenty-year period. The range of wages for men at Notman's during that time (excluding photographers), was broader, from $3 to approximately $24 biweekly. Some men earned in the same wage range as women, but, with the exception of the two named above, no women earned wages in the middle and higher ranges where the majority of the men were situated.[52]

Notman employee Mr. John Burke, whose job is not known, serves as a good comparison (Figure 29).[53] John Burke's photograph portrays an animated young man, with a lively expression and standing pose. His clothes are not as elegant or refined as those in which Mr. Burns posed in 1867. The heavy topcoat and wrinkled drape of his trousers suggest a less well-to-do man. The refinement of the surroundings further sets off John Burke's less polished appearance. Nevertheless, he stands at his ease in an environment that is very much his own - professionally, if not personally.

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[52] Notman Wages Books from 1864 to 1880 in the Notman Photographic Archives.

[53] Three John Burkes are listed in Mackay's Montreal Directory 1878-79 (Corrected 20 June 1878), 266: a "storeman" living at 20 Hermine; a labourer at 206 William, and John of "Burke Bros." of 205 St. Antoine. The 1871 Manuscript Census of Canada does not list a John Burke with an occupation related to photography.

The wages books list Mr. Burke between 24 August 1867 at $3 biweekly and 27 December 1878 at $16 biweekly. He was employed again briefly between 7 February and 21 March 1879 at $16 biweekly. Mr. Burke started at the very lowest salary, lower than that of the caretaker, Mrs. Burns, but by the time he left eleven years later his salary was double that of the women of the printing room. His term of employment and salary increase compare well with that of Mr. Edward Burns who had gone from $4 to $14 between 1867 and 1874. Mr. Burns claimed to be a photographer in the census of 1871 although, as argued earlier, it is more likely that he was an apprentice or an assistant because of his wage level. Mr. Burke may have held a similar position, perhaps working his way through various jobs in the establishment, including fixing prints in the toning room and assisting in the studio.

Wages in Notman's studio make a telling study when compared with the photograph prices of the studio. In the early 1870s, cartes-de-visite could be had starting at three for $1.50 and cabinets at three for $3.00.[54] At these prices, a basic set of cartes cost between fifteen and one hundred percent of the women's $3 to $10 biweekly wages. A set of cabinets ranges from thirty to one hundred percent of the biweekly wages range. The same set of cartes cost just under one-tenth of John Burke's $16 biweekly wage and the cabinet package was the equivalent of twenty percent. The purchase of a portrait photograph then would have taken a considerable percentage of these workers' biweekly incomes, especially the women's. This suggests that the retail price of the product that the women made was beyond the reach of their pocketbooks. In comparison, for staff photographers, a set of three cartes cost about five percent of the lowest biweekly wage of $32 and one percent of the upper wage of $52.[55]

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[54] W. Notman, Photography. Things You Ought to Know (Montreal: Louis Perrault & Co., n.d.), 12-13 in Notman Photographic Archives, Notman Publications File. Cartes-de-visite were priced at three for $1.50, six for $2.50, twelve for $4.00, and forty for $40.00. Cabinets were three for $3.00, six for $5.00, twelve for $8.00, and forty for $20.00. Extra charges were made for additional figures.

[55] To truly understand the accessibility of a portrait photograph for the petit-bourgeois working woman, however, would require a study of the costs of living for single women and widows with dependents to determine the

Samuel Jarvis (Figure 30) was one of the earliest photographers to work at the Notman studio. Like Mrs. Burns the caretaker, his employment precedes the beginning of the wages books in 1864. He may have joined Notman's as early as 1861, the year that his name first appears in the Montreal Directory where he is identified as a photographer. From 1864 to 1866, he is listed as living at 19 Bleury, the building owned by William Notman adjacent to the studio. (In 1867, another Notman photographer, William Topley, and his family were listed in the Directory as living there.) Jarvis left Notman's in 1867 to open his own studio in Montreal, which he operated for three years. In 1870, he returned to Notman's for four-and-a-half months prior to opening a studio in Ottawa, this time in partnership with another Notman photographer, George Arless (Figure 31).[56]

The portrait photograph Samuel Jarvis, a carte-de-visite of 1862, denotes a thoroughly petit-bourgeois male. He

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disbursement of their wages for such items as food, rent, heating fuel, and clothing. Not only knowledge of the costs of basic items, such as a loaf of bread or a pair of shoes, is required but an understanding of living arrangements, diet, and clothing needs for working women - research that has yet to be done. See Bradbury, Working Families, 89.

[56] See Mackay's Montreal Directory, 1863-64, Corrected July 1863 (Montreal: John Lovell, 1863), 162; Ibid., 1864-65; Ibid., 1865-66, 176; Ibid., 1866-67, 181; Ibid., 1867-68; and Stanley Triggs, William Notman: The Stamp of a Studio (Toronto: Art Gallery of Ontario/Coach House Press, 1985), 163.

stands with casual confidence in front of the camera and viewer. His daycoat is open and pushed back to allow his left hand to rest on his vest. Jarvis leans on a table, with gloves in hand. The classical overtones of the painted backdrop and heavy drapery are punctuated by up-to-date Victorian furniture. The location of the sitting is very clearly a photography studio. No effort has been made to fully simulate a drawing room, for example. Instead, the full-length nature of the composition with ample surrounding space within the frame emphasizes that Jarvis's surroundings are of some significance to this rendering of his identity. A drawing room is only implied as representative of the kind of place where this man is to be found and where he is at ease. Although Jarvis's employment as a photographer did not classify him as a professional, his stature within the petit-bourgeoisie appears an elevated one that positioned him for the leap into studio ownership and a place as a self-employed entrepreneur.

The 1863 carte-de-visite of George Arless, Jarvis's business partner, is a restrained image in comparison. Arless is seated off-centre, gazing away from the camera to the shallow space on the viewer's left in this awkwardly framed half-length composition. Although his collar and cravat are carefully pinned, his suit is rumpled and ill fitted. The blurred background accentuates the hazy identity rendered here.

Arless was twenty-three years of age when his name first appeared in the Notman wages books in 1864. Like Jarvis, he may have been employed from an earlier date. He remained at Notman's (with a five-and-a-half month absence between November 1865 and April 1866 when it is believed he may have been apprenticing with Mathew Brady in New York) until January 1867.[57] He went on to manage Notman's branch studio in Newport, Rhode Island prior to joining Samuel Jarvis in Ottawa c.1873. Arless opened a studio of his own in Montreal in 1878.[58]

The portrait of photographer Jocia Bruce, of 1862, (Figure 32) is not unlike that of George Arless. A similar framing, pose, attire, and demeanour mark the two images. Bruce's career path was similar to that of Arless as well. He is first recorded in the wages books on the same date as Arless, 13 August 1863, and remained with Notman's until August 1868. His final salary of $28 biweekly was substantially greater than Arless's $20 biweekly, however.

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[57] Arless's wages were $14 biweekly in 1864 and $16 biweekly when he left in 1865. He earned $20 biweekly throughout his second employment period.

[58] Triggs, Stamp of a Studio, 163; and Roger Hall, Gordon Dodds, and Stanley Triggs, The World of William Notman (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Inc., 1993), 54.

In 1868, Bruce went to work as head photographer at Notman and Fraser when it opened in Toronto. In 1875, he too opened a studio of his own in Toronto.[59]

What is particularly striking about these latter two portraits is the simplicity of their rendering, the paring of extraneous accoutrements defining and shaping the identities of these young men. (Bruce was only a year older than Arless, aged twenty-two when his portrait was made.) With Jocia Bruce, in fact, the background is washed out leaving a glow of bright white behind the figure that eliminates any sense of place or depth. Only the modelling of the face and hands relieves the flatness of the image.

The physical photograph itself is all that is left to render an identity of a kind for these men who are stripped of any references beyond their clothing. The very act of having their portrait photograph made casts them somewhere among the petit-bourgeoisie. Their undistinguished suits and stiff poses may be attributed to their working status or, perhaps, simply to their youth. These are images that in their bareness, however, speak of potential. Combined with the sitters' youth and gender, they are portraits that do not predict success or greatness, by any means, but mark instead a starting point, a moment of entry into a social system lauded and promoted for what were believed to be the possibilities awaiting and the advantages available to all. Indeed, nearly all of the managers of Notman's branch studios were drawn from the pool of staff photographers at the Montreal headquarters.

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[59] Triggs, Stamp of a Studio, 163.

The promise of advancement and success resonates in the cabinet portrait of J.M. Hayden (Figure 33). Like Samuel Jarvis, the well-appointed and youthful Hayden appears relaxed in the light of the camera's gaze. In the census of 1871, John Hayden was recorded as twenty-five years old, born in Quebec of Irish origin. He was living at 39 Alexander Street with eight other single people - six males and two females - between nineteen and twenty-six years of age, as well as a family of nine and a married couple. Hayden's profession was listed as "photographer," as was that of another male resident.[60]

Hayden began at Notman's, probably as an apprentice, in July 1864 at a wage of $10 biweekly. By the time he left temporarily for a five-month period beginning in June 1877 he was earning $30 biweekly, the same wage paid to photographer Dennis Bourdon in 1877 during his final year of employment at Notman's. Hayden returned to employment with the Notman studio in November of 1877 at a substantial reduction in wages, $18 biweekly, and had reached only $20 biweekly when he finally left Notman's in October 1881. The reduction in Hayden's salary indicates that the upward momentum of the petit-bourgeois male's career was not always achieved or maintained. Nor was Hayden's case an isolated incident. Other employees, including photographer William Webb, suffered a drop as well. Webb had been receiving $48 biweekly when he left Notman's in April 1877. He too returned in November 1877 for a two-year period at $30 biweekly. Stanley Triggs attributes the salary drops to the 1870s economic depression.[61] These photographers may have been laid off during the summer and autumn of 1877 for that reason as well. Between 1876 and 1877, total employment at Notman's dropped from fifty-two to thirty-eight people. (See Appendix C.)

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[60] Manuscript Census of Canada, 1870-1871, National Archives of Canada microfilm reel C-10048, District 106, Montreal West, Sub-District C, Division 1, p. 25.

What all this discloses is that staff photographers, by virtue of their gender and jobs, had in theory, if not fact, access to economic and social gain - something from which women were excluded. The absence of women within the elite photographic staff positions at Notman's reveals certain exceptions or limitations to the rules of democratic capitalism. Take the example of the Topley Family portrait of 1867 (Figure 34). A woman cloaked in widow's weeds is seated at a table, surrounded by her children. The group is gathered against a plain background with only a curtain and a large plant to add decorative interest by framing the group. The youngest child, a girl, sits at her mother's knee, her arm in her mother's grasp. The family dog lies beside her. The other children, young adults, are staged around these two. All are clothed simply in dark garments. The only visible adornments are the older daughter's necklace and the watch fob of her brother, Horatio, beside her. Standing behind their mother are William J. Topley, on the right, and either John or Robert Topley at the centre of the photograph. A fourth son is absent from the group. Horatio and William can be identified because of personal portraits they had made at Notman's in 1868 and 1866 respectively (Figures 35 and 36). But, as neither John nor Robert had personal portraits made, a positive identification cannot be obtained of the central figure here.

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[61] Triggs, Stamp of a Studio, 164.

Mrs. Anna Delia Harrison Topley was widowed in 1863.[62] The following year her sons William and John were employed by Notman's. William is entered in the wages books from 10 October 1864 at $6 biweekly to 11 January 1868 at $16 biweekly, and John from 22 October 1864 ($3 biweekly) to 20 May 1865 ($4 biweekly). Horatio was also employed there from 12 January 1867 ($12 biweekly) to 18 September 1869 ($14 biweekly) and Robert from 6 May 1865 ($6 biweekly) to 29 December 1866 ($10 biweekly). Thus, at the time that this portrait was made, Horatio and William were working at Notman's. William, who started at one of the lowest wage levels, was twenty-one years old and a photographer when he left the Montreal studio after only four years to open and manage Notman's first branch studio, established in Ottawa across the street from the new Parliament Buildings in 1868. Topley bought the Ottawa studio from Notman in 1872.[63]

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[62] Anson A. Gard, Pioneers of the Upper Ottawa and the Humors of the Valley, South Hull and Aylmer Edition (Ottawa: Emerson Press, 1906), 66. The father, John Topley was born in Dublin and emigrated to Montreal in 1840 at age twenty-two. His occupation was not recorded in Gard's biographical entry on the Topley family, although he is said to have been

Like the Browns and Burnses (and other employees taken up in the next chapter), many members of the Topley family, notably the males, were employed at Notman's. The Topley Family portrait, however, is unusual in the context of Notman's workers' portraits in that the sitting includes the

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"very active in the town's interest, and especially so in educational and church work." Mrs. Topley, born in St. John, Quebec, was noted to have been an amateur photographer who had made a photograph of the triumphal arch erected at Aylmer for the Prince of Wales's visit there. Her photograph is reproduced in Gard's book.

[63] See William Topley's biography entry in Triggs, Stamp of a Studio, 164.

employees' additional family members - much like the Notman Family in 1859 (Figure 1) - and not just the employees themselves. What is represented is a family which, in spite of the loss of its financial and legal head, appears to have retained its class status. It also retains an ideal bourgeois structure: the women do not seem to be wage earners. (Mrs. Topley's ability as an amateur photographer, demonstrated by her photograph of the welcoming arch for the Prince of Wales, could no doubt have gained her employment at Notman's or another studio had her circumstances or gender been different.) Rather, on the surface, they fit the description of private bourgeois women. The men, too, appear to fit a particular, gendered bourgeois description: employed with familial financial responsibilities. The contrast between the Topley family employees and Notman's women employees, such as the Brown sisters, lies in the long-term opportunities that were available to these men but from which the women were excluded. William especially benefited, moving from the lowest category on the pay scale to become a photographer, a manager and, finally, an independent businessman in the photographic field - all within eight years.

IV. Conclusion

The Brown sisters' circumstances along with those of Miss Annie Bell, Miss Caroline Bowie, Mrs. Houston, and Mrs. Burns demonstrate the various ages, marital status, living conditions, wages, and lengths of employment experienced by women in this common workplace: generally of Anglo-Saxon origin, single and living at home with a widowed parent, or widowed themselves and supporting children, remaining with their employer between three and nineteen years, earning wages confined to the bottom half of the bracket paid to Notman employees, confined to certain jobs in the studio - as a "clerk" or photography assistant, saleswoman, or caretaker - and excluded from work that would prepare them to become independent proprietors themselves. It is clear that an unusually small percentage of Montreal's photography industry employees was female, despite women's large representation in the industrial labour force and expectations from the time photography was invented that women could and would participate in the new field.

The reasons for the low rate of employment are no doubt multiple. On the basis of commentary such as Jabez Hughes's, it would seem that although photography was believed to be a suitable place for women, preconceived notions of women's abilities and shortcomings mitigated opportunities offered to women by those who owned the largest shares in the industry - men with access to capital.

The portrait photographs of women as leisured, private beings certainly contradicts the images of concentrated and skilled labour, some of it messy, that was required to make a photograph. The work required to produce photographs was labour intensive, monotonous, skilled, and the days were long, especially in summer. While some commentators may not have believed women to be capable of such work, others recognized that women were preferred for such work because they could be paid less than men. Furthermore, although "photographers" and "clerks" can be classified in the same category on the basis of skill and relationship to capital, it is clear that remuneration and opportunities for advancement, at least at Notman's but no doubt across the industry, were inequitable. As a result, some women workers may have sought better pay elsewhere.

Finally, for those women who did work in photography, specifically at Notman's, and stayed for a number of years, in some cases returning to work there after a gap in employment, the question is why did they stay? Was there prestige attached to work at a photography studio that was absent from work in other industrial establishments? Did their personal situations make a limited wage tolerable? Did the environment of the studio make employment there enjoyable and desirable? Answers to these questions are sought in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 6

'THE PICTURE TELLS NO LIE...': YOUNG LADIES OF THE PRINTING ROOM

> Attitudes, dresses, features, hands, feet, betray the social grade of the candidates for portraiture. The picture tells no lie about them. There is no use in their putting on airs; the make-believe gentleman and lady cannot look like the genuine article. Mediocrity shows itself for what it is worth, no matter what temporary name it may have acquired.[1]

In 1863, Oliver Wendell Holmes argued that false verisimilitude in photographs would not withstand rigorous examination. Holmes's anxiety about intrusions in the bourgeoisie's own site of representation suggests that the photographic portrait was commonly appropriated by other than pedigreed bourgeoisie to display aspirations or pretensions in an economic milieu that claimed its democracy in class mobility based on individual initiative and hard work.

John Tagg has argued that the production of photographic portraits in an industrial society is (and was) "the production of significations in which contending social classes claim presence in representation, and the production of things which may be possessed and for which there is a socially defined demand."[2] The shortcoming to this thesis, however, is the narrow definition of society grounded on class alone. It does not recognize that codes of gender behaviour as well as ethnic and racial categorization inform economic opportunities or expectations in an industrial democratic society, as well as one's success in claiming a class status.

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[1] Oliver Wendell Holmes, "Doings of the Sunbeam," Atlantic Monthly 12 (July 1863), 9.

One of my purposes in prioritizing - but not isolating - images of women photography workers is to demonstrate how one of these concepts of social identity, gender, informed the visual ordering of the urban industrializing economy. After 1860, photography in general and the Notman picture books in particular served in part to regulate and disseminate the codes, expectations, and presentation of women's place in an industrializing economy. Some feminist scholars identify women's different experience as the acquisition of a specific form of femininity: the training or disciplining of the female body to conform to contemporary criteria of appearance and behaviour for women.[3] Susan Brownmiller defines femininity as "a powerful esthetic that is built upon a recognition of powerlessness....A manner that combines a deferential attitude with ornaments of the upper class and an etiquette composed in equal parts of modesty and exhibition...."[4] The acquisition and demonstration of femininity is for the greater part a visual exercise: participation in the spectacle of femininity is required of virtually every woman negotiating a place within the modern social order.[5]

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[2] Tagg, Burden of Representation, 37.

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[3] Michel Foucault argues in his study of the association of the continually visible body to institutions of the modern state that self-regulation or discipline "produces subjected and practiced bodies, 'docile' bodies" that conform to expectations of their culture. See Michel Foucault, Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison, trans. A. Sheridan (London: A. Lane, 1977), 138.

The truly radical nature of his argument about the subtleties of the modern exercise of power, however, is revealed by an element of knowledge (to take up Foucault's terms) that he overlooks in his formulations: the differing conditions of men's and women's placements in a social structure. Furthermore, as feminist scholars such as Sandra Lee Bartky argue, this oversight of Foucault's perpetuates and reproduces the subjection of the female body. See Sandra Lee Bartky, "Foucault, Femininity, and the Modernization of Patriarchal Power," in Feminism and Foucault: Reflections on Resistance, eds. Irene Diamond and Lee Quinby (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1988), 63.

[4] Susan Brownmiller, Femininity (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1984), 19.

[5] Bartky, Feminism and Foucault, 72.

This chapter revolves around the problems presented by the 1876 portrait, Miss Findlay's Group, otherwise labelled "Young Ladies of the Printing Room," in light of the political, legal, and social regulation of women's paid labour in industrializing Montreal; the impact of such regulation on women's employment at Notman's; and how, in the final analysis, employed petit-bourgeois women utilized the photographic portrait to inscribe a social self-identity.

I. Women in the Printing Room

In 1863, Oliver Wendell Holmes described the tasks carried out by workers in photography printing rooms. The worker of his description, notably, is a young man:

> In a small room, lighted by a few rays which filter through a yellow curtain, a youth has been employed all the morning in developing the sensitive conscience of certain sheets of paper, which came to him from the manufacturer already glazed...This "albumenized" paper the youth lays gently and skillfully upon the surface of a solution of nitrate of silver. When it has floated there a few minutes, he lifts it, lets it drain, and hangs it by one corner to dry. This "sensitized" paper is served fresh every morning, as it loses its delicacy by keeping.
>
> We take a piece of this paper of the proper size, and lay it on the varnished or pictured side of the negative, which is itself laid in a wooden frame, like a picture-frame. Then we place a thick piece of cloth on the paper. Then we lay a hinged wooden back on the cloth, and by means of two brass springs press all close together, - the wooden back against the cloth, the cloth

> against the paper, the paper against the negative. We turn the frame over and see that the plain side of the glass negative is clean. And now we step out upon the roof of the house into the bright sunshine, and lay the frame, with the glass uppermost, in the full blaze of light....When we think it has darkened nearly enough we turn it over, open a part of the hinged back, turn down first a portion of the thick cloth, and then enough of the paper to see something of the forming picture. If not printed dark enough as yet, we turn back to their places successively the picture, the cloth, the opened part of the frame, and lay it again in the sun...A photograph-printer will have fifty or more pictures printing at once, and he keeps going up and down the line, opening the frames to look and see how they are getting on. As fast as they are done, he turns them over, back to the sun and the cooking process stops at once.[6]

At this point, the print would go to the "toning room" to have the image fixed, washed, and dried. Finally, it would be mounted on a card.[7] Holmes's description makes it clear that the job of a printing room employee was one that required both experience and diligence. Attention to detail was essential and timing the print's exposure required a skill gained by experience as it depended upon variables such as the quality of the negative and the brightness of the day. At Notman's, the workload was heavy as well; the studio produced thousands of negatives and a minimum of one print per negative every year. In 1871, for example, Notman's made about 10,000 photographic negatives. In 1873, when North America reached the deepest point of a recession, production for the studio peaked at about 14,000. In 1874, approximately 12,000 were made. By 1876, however, business had returned to the levels of the late 1860s when an estimated 6,000 negatives were made.[8]

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[6] Holmes, "Doings of the Sunbeam," 5-6.

[7] Ibid.

In 1874 and 1875, eighteen women were employed at Notman's (out of a total of fifty-five and fifty-three employees respectively). In 1876, this number had dropped to nine out of a total staff of fifty-two.[9] Eight of these

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[8] The figures for the years 1861 to 1884 are on file at the Notman Photographic Archives.

In the 1876 picture books, negatives numbers range from 22,741 to 43,375. However, there is a gap between 24,999 and 40,000 in which no images are entered. Nora Hague at the Notman Photographic Archives has speculated that Notman was setting up branch studios at this time and may have set aside these numbers with the intention of including branch studios' photographs in the Montreal filing systems. Based on these numbers, then, a minimum of 5,633 negatives were made in Montreal in 1876.

The phenomenon of an increase in photographic work during the recession was not unique to Notman's. An 1875 report on photographic activities in Germany included the observation that "Notwithstanding the dull state of industry and the export trade, and in spite of the universal money calamity, the photographers have yet always more to do than many another business....The possession of a portrait is made a necessity not only by marriage solicitors in the newspapers, but all seeking positions, are often enough asked to send their recommendation and portrait." See "German Correspondence," The Philadelphia Photographer 12 (November 1875), 341.

[9] By 1877, Notman's staff was reduced to thirty-eight people including seven women. See Appendix D.

- the women of Miss Findlay's Group - worked in the printing room and one, Mrs. Burns, worked as a caretaker. These women may well have done double-duty at Notman's by working in not only the printing room but also spending some time attending the reception and dressing rooms or mounting photographs on cards. The only position that women are known with certainty not to have occupied is that of staff photographer.

In 1873, Jabez Hughes analyzed the role of women workers in England's photography industry. He divided these workers into three categories derived from their class status: the 'maid-of-all-work,' the 'shopwoman,' and the 'governess' classes. The various skills of each, Hughes explained, complemented the division of labour in the production of photographs and allowed "these three kinds of female skill to have adequate scope" in photography occupations. For example,

> What I have called the "maid-of-all-work" class is of course the lowest grade, and their work is quite behind the scenes, being confined to what is technically called "printing," that is, preparing the paper and producing on it the print from the "negative." This class of labor is the most laborious and dirty, and, as such labor generally is, the least remunerative. Women of this grade are more often employed in the country than in London, and at best their work is mainly confined to the cheap establishments. Their remuneration will be from ten to fifteen shillings per week. Their recommendation is, not that they do their work better, but that they can be got cheaper than men. In many respectable

> establishments this kind of work is done by men and boys.[10]

Hughes contends that in England the photographic studio was a place in which women of the lower classes would find employment only rarely and when they did it was out of sight of patrons and only at studios of less than premium quality and reputation. According to this account, then, the employment of women in Notman's printing room in comparison to practices in England would seem to be unusual on three counts: Notman's was a prestigious urban studio, employment in the printing room appears to have been confined to women whose class status was a cut above the "maid-of-all-work," a designation for unskilled women labourers, and finally, the women may have worked in more than one area of the studio.

Hughes went on to explain that in a photography studio the "greater part of the female labor is supplied by the 'shopwoman' class," a class that seems to align more readily with that of Notman's printing room women.[11] But in England, the labour done by these women did not include printing. Instead, their positions involved photograph mounting and retouching, attendance in the reception room, assisting women portrait clients with grooming, taking customers' orders and payments, and looking after the studio's correspondence. He estimated that these positions paid between fifteen and thirty shillings a week. (I have been unable to determine the equivalent figure in Canadian dollars and thus cannot yet compare Notman's wages to wages paid in British studios.) Hughes argued that the "governess" class of women, the highest rank of working women, would be especially well qualified to take on positions of trust in the studio, such as account-keeping and correspondence, that required a certain literacy level. However, he wrote, "The chief fault with this class is, that they will not bend to their work; they think too much of themselves, and act as if they were the persons who patronize the photographer." In other words, while work in photography studios was found to be eminently appropriate for women, a distinction remained - and had to be maintained - between those who assisted in the production of the portrait photograph, those who met and worked with patrons, and the patrons themselves who commissioned the image. Because the classes must intersect in the course of the transaction, the advantage to employment of the "governess" class of women was that in "manners and behavior they import no corresponding drawbacks...."[12]

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[10] Jabez Hughes, "Photography as an Industrial Occupation for Women," 1873, in Camera Fiends & Kodak Girls: 50 Selections By and About Women in Photography, 1840-1930, ed. Peter E. Palmquist (New York: Midmarch Arts Press, 1989), 33.

[11] Ibid., 33-34.

The 1876 portrait of Miss Findlay and her companions, the women of the printing room, contradicts Hughes's description of their British counterparts. Miss Findlay's Group (Figure 9) is composed as a conversation group - or the left half is. Two distinct groupings are posed with seemingly little connecting the two. On the left, while gazing off to the right of the viewer, a young woman seated on a rug in the foreground rests against the woman behind. Three women behind her are engrossed in a problem: a dejected-looking young woman sits facing an impassive companion. Closing this circle is a more mature woman bent forward with her arms around the shoulders of the two; she appears to be consoling, or cajoling, the unhappy sitter. In contrast, the remaining four women on the right-hand side of the group, while closely gathered, are more engaged with the viewer than with each other. Two, bearing a resemblance to one another, are seated, flanked by their standing colleagues. The woman on the right appears to be slightly older than the rest and her position and posture suggest a seniority and authority that the others do not share.

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[12] Ibid., 34-35.

The women are all dressed in ruffles and fancy collars; some sport decorative cuffs; one wears satin, one velvet; and most wear earrings, a necklace, pendant, or hair accessory. In other words, these women are not attired in workaday clothes. The heavy cuffs and abundant ruffles would impede the physical movement required to do the work carried out in the printing room. Instead, the women of the printing room are dressed and posed in an environment that complements their attire: a panelled background wall, a long, heavy curtain, upholstered chairs, a pillow and rug denote a private drawing room. Miss Findlay's friends, the portrait suggests, have been photographed as they might have been while gathered during a visit to her home. The label is ambiguous, however, because it does not disclose to the unacquainted viewer which woman is the main figure. One is left to speculate on the basis of composition and individual deportment. Doing so, Miss Findlay might well be the woman of authority on the right of the photograph who could be the senior staff member. Or she might be the woman on the left who is caring for two of her companions. She might also be the woman standing at the back in the centre of the photograph, with her companions grouped around. However, the photograph, like the label, does not reveal which woman has gathered her friends for a portrait.

The portrait's title is ambiguous on another level, as well. The basis of the women's relationship as employees of the studio is not revealed by the label in the picture books; nor does this relationship appear to be a primary element or motivating force in the portrait itself. Another group portrait, this time of men, seems to have been meant to function in a similar way. Like Miss Findlay's Group in 1876, a photograph named Mr. Burke and Friends was made in 1878, the year that John Burke left Notman's employ (Figure 37). Mr. Burke is seated on the right of the circle of four young men gathered around a small side table, as in a study or drawing room, all so much alike with their loose ties and collars, buttoned suit jackets, mustaches and carefully combed hair. Mr. Burke in his patterned suit stands out from both the dark background and his friends. Like Miss Findlay's party, Mr. Burke's is not defined in a professional way. The men's relationship is unclear. In the absence of a defining title, as with the "Young Ladies of the Printing Room," the viewer is left with a description of a group of young men drawn together apparently in friendship only, situated, furthermore, in a private environment. Any hint of a work relationship is absent.

Thus the slippage in the labelling of Miss Findlay's Group, indexed as "Young Ladies of the Printing Room," is fortuitous for its illumination of layers of social roles.

The labelling of these women, portrayed as companions, reveals that paid labour was an element of their social identity. Furthermore, the secondary title prioritizes their industrial occupation while rendering the women in the image anonymous. The portrait, Mrs. Cowan's Nurse (Figure 15), functions in a similar manner (see Chapter Three). In contrast, the title Miss Findlay's Group implies and prioritizes a social interaction and dependence. Furthermore, much of the seeming cultural homogeneity of the group was predetermined by their employer's criterion of social characteristics rather than a result of their own process of selection of preferred and compatible companions. Miss Findlay left Notman's employ in July 1876. This group portrait may well have been commissioned by Miss Findlay or by her printing room companions to commemorate their time together as something more than work mates.

II. Regulating Paid Labour

Women's relationship to paid labour in Lower Canada at this time was similarly ambiguous and uncertain. In 1866, a new Civil Code regulating private relations amongst the people of Lower Canada was enacted. The Code was written between 1857 and 1866, years of transition that had begun in the late 1840s. Montreal's residents especially, mostly immigrants from England, Scotland, Ireland, and the Lower Canada countryside, were coping with the restructuring of British America as an industry-based society, replacing an agricultural and resources export base. This fundamental realignment in turn required a new, capitalist-oriented civil law to deal with different economic relations among citizens, especially the exchange of property. As Brian Young argues, the new Civil Code served as "...an important means of regulating gender, family, and business relations in industrializing Canada...by the reinforcement of certain traditional social and marital relations."[13]

In broad terms, the Civil Code served as a primary site for regulating the intersection of gender, class, and ethnicity. The Civil Code was written in both French and English and applied to all citizens of Lower Canada. The Code was inherently class biased, however, as it was drawn up by law professionals (two male French-Canadian lawyers and one male British Canadian lawyer), that is, by bourgeois citizens, to meet the perceived needs of a society with a new industrial economic order.[14] Its ethnic bias is subtler. The Code was an update of the old law based on the Custom of Paris that was in effect in New France and retained by the terms of agreement reached after the fall of Montreal to Britain in 1760. The new Code was subsequently grounded on the Napoleonic Code of 1804. Thus, the Code favoured Western-European Canadians, based as it was on their social and economic traditions. The social relations of the Amerindians, Africans, Jews, and eastern European immigrants who lived in Lower Canada were not accounted for, although the census confirms their presence.[15]

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[13] Brian Young, "Getting Around Legal Incapacity: The Legal Status of Married Women in Trade in Mid-Nineteenth Century Lower Canada," Canadian Papers in Business History, vol. 1, ed. Peter Baskerville (Victoria, British Columbia: Public History Group, University of Victoria, 1989): 12.

Where inequality was blatantly written in was on the basis of gender. While the tenets of individualism were its keystone, and economic demand for labour and philanthropy gave women of all classes opportunities for employment outside the home, the Civil Code circumscribed the economic spheres in which women could function autonomously. In 1866, despite a history of property and suffrage rights for women in Lower Canada during the eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries, married women were rendered legally incompetent, that is, they were denied economic or political autonomy. Authority over property and family was reduced to the husband and father alone. Thus, a married woman or a daughter could not undertake property transactions or work for wages without the consent of her husband or father. Excluding married women from economic autonomy barred them from recognition as legal beings and full citizens. Encoding this status in civil law normalized married women's place as primarily domestic.[16] Single and widowed women were compromised as well, being located on the edges of respectable femininity, outside the norm of the family unit and unattached to a male breadwinner. Nevertheless, many women regardless of marital status needed and chose to work for wages. Because women's paid labour was devalued it was poorly remunerated, which, in turn, meant it was in high demand in labour intensive industries (along with child labour). Women's challenge, then, as the Clio Collective suggests in their history of women in Quebec, was "to relearn how to be women in a world in which they were marginal yet indispensable."[17]

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[14] Brian Young defines the change to laws in Lower Canada between 1838 and 1867 as that which "European legal historians call "bourgeois law."...Ideologically, bourgeois law implied formal equality before the law of all legal persons, freedom of the individual to contract for his/her labour or property, and publicity of contracts." Young, "Getting Around Legal Incapacity," 3.

[15] Census Report of the Canadas 1860-61, Table No. I, Lower Canada Personal Census, by Origin, 1861, 4-5.

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[16] Young, "Getting Around," 6. See also Brian Young, The Politics of Codification (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1994), 148-152.

The carte-de-visite and cabinet portraits of women who worked for William Notman treat the viewer to a display of middle-class domesticity. The women are situated in comfortable home-like environments with attributes of education and leisure, such as books, watercolour sketchbooks or, most notably, photographs and albums. Their clothing is always elegant and occasionally sumptuous. There is one deviance from the bourgeois family ideal, however: the women are always portrayed either alone or as mothers and daughters; they are never represented as wives or with their fathers.

Why some of Notman's women employees had their portraits made, and others did not, is unclear. The employees may have been sitting for test photographs as operators worked out exposures or tried out new lenses. This is unlikely, however, as the women are not attired in workaday clothes, their grooming is impeccable and often elaborate, and in the case of group portraits they are seated as family pairs rather than with co-workers. They may instead have been sitting for sample photographs to display the Notman studio's range and quality of production. Such a scenario is also unlikely as the massive numbers of portraits made and displayed by the firm were more than sufficient to satisfy the company's marketing needs. The picture books of portraits and views were on display for clients' perusal while studio samples were also displayed on the reception room's walls (Figure 38). Many of the portraits were of well-known Montreal citizens and visitors whose sittings would have been more persuasive endorsements than photos of anonymous studio workers, no matter how fine, could have been. There is no evidence to suggest that the employees' portraits were marked as exceptional specimens of the Notman studio's wares and expertise.

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[17] Micheline Dumont et. al (The Clio Collective), Quebec Women: A History, trans. Roger Gannon and Rosaline Gill (Toronto: The Women's Press, 1987), 116.

When viewed within the larger Notman archives these portraits appear, like most of the others, to have been commissioned by the women themselves for their personal use as mementos for themselves, their family, and friends. The relative expense of a Notman studio photograph in comparison to the women's wages may account in part for the few portraits made of these employees. As employees of the firm, however, they may have received discounts on the purchase or even free service.

Although Notman women employees, unlike ordinary clients, participated in the production of their images, they did not reveal this aspect of their social role and identity - their wage labour - in their portraits. The photographic portraits do not seem to offer a rounded description of the individual; instead, a narrowly-defined social identity is inscribed. The question is how did these representations meet the needs and expectations of the women who sat for them? Why did they choose to represent one particular aspect of their lives rather than other aspects such as their occupation?

Mrs. and Miss Young, for example, had their portraits made together in 1875 while Mrs. Young was employed at Notman's photographic studio and again in 1880 while Miss Young was employed there (Figures 39 and 40).[18] In the earlier work, Miss Young, still a girl, is seated on a low stool at her mother's knee, apparently pausing for a moment from reading to her mother to glance at the viewer. Mrs. Young is seated sideways on a low chair, her body turned toward her daughter but with her head turned away to acknowledge the viewer. The composition portrays the relationship of this mother and daughter as one of close physical and emotional connections. In the later work, the relationship is redefined. A matured Miss Young is seated casually on a side table, while Mrs. Young retains her formal and senior position on an elegant chair. Miss Young's pose, elevated above that of her mother, implies a new role of responsibility as a young adult and an interdependence of the women. But neither of the photographs provide any evidence of the occupations of mother and daughter.

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[18] The names of workers and their biweekly wages are recorded in the Notman wages books which were retained from 25 April 1863 to 20 July 1917. The wages books are in the collections of the Notman Photographic Archives. This is the source for all wages and employment periods and so will not be noted hereafter.

Mrs. Young is listed from 1 September 1871 to 13 December 1878 at $7 biweekly. A Mrs. Young is again recorded from 7 February 1879 ($9 biweekly) to 22 October 1909 ($10 biweekly). It is uncertain, but unlikely, that these workers are the same person, given the advanced age that the first Mrs. Young would have reached by 1909. Miss Young worked at Notman's from 23 August 1878 ($6 biweekly) to 11 November 1881 ($8 biweekly).

The women employed at Notman's studio were, without exception, single or widowed. They were economically responsible for themselves and often for others even though such familial and economic circumstances did not match the ideals enshrined in law. The Spence sisters' circumstances, for example, certainly did not fit the Code's standard mould. Their portraits, however, do not disclose this. In the 1881 Manuscript Census of Canada, five Spence siblings were recorded living together east of Notman's in the St. Louis quarter.[19] The family was of Scottish origin and included, in order of the enumeration, Harry, age twenty, with no occupation and Frank, age eighteen, employed as a labourer ("ouvrier"), both born in Scotland; Alice, twenty-four, born in Quebec; Louisa, twenty-three, born in Ontario; and Annie, twenty-one, born in England. None of the women's names were accompanied by occupational listings. Neither were the Spences' parents included in the enumeration. Thus, the siblings were either orphaned or living separately. The variety of birthplaces suggests that the family had been itinerant, a common circumstance as immigrants sought work throughout British America, and probably working class. Frank's occupation implies the siblings' class status in 1881.

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[19] Manuscript Census of Canada, 1880-1881, National Archives of Canada microfilm reel C-13217, District 90

A Miss L. Spence was recorded working at Notman's between 21 April 1876 (at $5 weekly) and 3 April 1891 ($15 biweekly). A Miss Annie Spence was twice employed at Notman's: between 19 November 1875 and 27 July 1877 at $8 biweekly and again from 19 January 1883 (starting at $6 biweekly) until 24 September 1886 ($8 biweekly). These two women are taken to be Louisa and Annie of the 1881 census, as no other Spence women with such initials were enumerated in the Montreal census that year. Again, the absence of an occupational listing cannot be taken as evidence that these

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Montreal, Subdistrict Montreal East, Subdivision #2, St. Louis Quarter, p. 62.

Spence women were not employed. Indeed, it is unlikely that a family of five adults could or would have lived on the wages of the youngest member, an eighteen-year-old labourer. Furthermore, they were enumerated in a quarter within walking distance of Notman's Bleury Street studio and their ages are in keeping with the appearance of cabinet portraits of Miss L. Spence made in 1885 (Figure 41) and of Miss A.E. Spence in 1879 (made during the gap between her employment periods at Notman's) (Figures 42 and 43).

Miss A.E. Spence poses in two costumes, one an elaborate gown with ruffles and a train, and the other a daytime dress and hat with fancy cuffs, collar and necklace. The former pose is a full-length portrait showcasing the gown in a suitably elegant interior; the latter, three-quarters length in a simple setting. Similarly, Miss L. Spence is portrayed three-quarters length in a smartly detailed skirt and jacket, her attention engaged by some paper at the counter by which she stands. As such, there is nothing remarkable about these portraits or, according to the description offered by the portraits, nothing remarkable about these young bourgeois women. However, their family status was noteworthy for its discrepancy with the prescribed norm. The portraits do not betray this status. Rather, it is concealed by symbols of some degree of affluence - including the commissioning and acquisition of the portraits themselves. But again, these portraits are unusual because the women who sat for them also had a hand in photographic portrait production.

The absence of married women from Notman's payroll is puzzling. It does not demonstrate that married women had no need or inclination to work for wages. Suzanne Cross and Bettina Bradbury have demonstrated that single, widowed, and married women in Montreal, regardless of ethnic origin, sought and obtained paid labour. Economic need was the shared motivation.[20] Perhaps the limitations of the Civil Code made it difficult for Notman to hire married.[21] Married women themselves faced a hurdle in gaining employment that other women did not: obtaining husbands' approval of their employment. Perhaps Notman preferred to avoid any potential disapproval, interference, or prior claim on the part of a husband that might be encountered when employing a married woman. Married women's responsibility for the care of young children might also have been a deterrent. However, the Grey Nuns offered numerous day nursery facilities including one on St. Catherine Street, a short distance from Notman's location. Both French-Canadian and British-Canadian women used these facilities.[22] Alternatively, older children or extended family members assisted with the care of young children. Furthermore, like married women, widowed women with young children, such as Mrs. Burns, had child care responsibilities yet were able to secure employment.[23] Mrs. Burns's older daughters may have cared for the two younger children or perhaps she cleaned the studio after hours and was able to take her children with her. Whatever the arrangements, the presence of young children did not prevent her employment. Mrs. Burns's employment relationship with Notman's did differ from most of the other women, however, in that it included living quarters in a building owned by Notman next door to the studio. At least one other staff member, photographer Samuel Jarvis, is known to have resided there at the same time. The Topley family also had residency there in the late 1860s. (The organization of the building and the number of residents that it could contain remain unknown, as does Notman's purpose in renting rooms to staff.)

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[20] Bettina Bradbury, Working Families: Age, Gender, and Daily Survival in Industrializing Montreal, (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1993), 174.

[21] For analyses of ways some married women coped with Civil Code restrictions see Young, "Getting Around Legal Incapacity," and Bettina Bradbury, "The Working Class Family Economy, Montreal 1861-1881," (Ph.D. diss., Concordia University, Montreal, 1984).

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[22] D. Suzanne Cross, "The Neglected Majority: The Changing Role of Women in Nineteenth-Century Montreal," The Canadian City: Essays in Urban and Social History. Gilbert A. Stelter and Alan F.J. Artibise, eds., Ottawa: Carleton University Press, 1984, 46; and Bradbury, Working Families, 172-174.

[23] See Chapter 5, pp. 164-167, for a discussion of Mrs. Burns's position at Notman's and economic status.

The social expectations of the day were probably the most compelling reason that Notman limited employment to single and widowed women. The ideal bourgeois woman was characterized as one obedient to her husband and engaged solely at home. Marital status was not the only social qualification, it would appear. All of the women employed at the studio were of British origin: Scottish mostly, but also English and Irish. Neither French-Canadian women nor any of eastern European, African, Asian or Amerindian origins were employed. These ethnic, language, and racial categories were also at work in determining suitable candidates for employment. In light of the broader mix of Montrealers in general, the women chosen for employment were a select group. Given that Notman's ratio of women workers was one third that of industry in general in Montreal, and that citizens of British origin made up only 45% of the population in 1871, the women employed represent an exclusive subgroup of the general population. This would suggest that within a bourgeois class, status had its hierarchy and British patrons enjoyed first-class placement. French Canadian and other patrons who could afford the goods and services of the Notman studio would not have found a similarly familiar environment there.

Why they patronized Notman's rather than a studio run by a French-Canadian photographer is open to speculation. Best quality was no doubt an overriding factor. Acquiring a portrait from the most prestigious studio in the city and one of the very best on the continent was no small measure of a family's financial success and social acumen. Overstepping boundaries of national origin or language may be perceived as refusal to be segregated or confined to less prestigious commercial sites. It signals a determination to claim a social identity and status of the highest nature and a portrait from Notman's carried just such a caché. The finest photographic portrait was acquired to display this attainment and claim it on an equal basis with bourgeoisie of British origin. Furthermore, it would appear that in the spirit of capitalist ideology the Notman studio did not discriminate amongst patrons on the basis of origin, gender, or even class. All who could afford the price of a sitting and make an appropriately formal presentation of themselves were welcomed and photographed.

Notman's studio attracted the elite of Montreal society. Perhaps part of his strategy for maintaining such prestige was to adhere to the ideals of his most influential patrons by employing only widowed and single women of British origin and nothing less than the Montreal equivalent of the 'shopwoman' class, women with the appropriate manners, knowledge, and social position who could assist the clients in a polished manner without offending their sensibilities.

III. "At Home" in the Studio

Photographic literature in the United States from the early 1850s through the late 1860s discusses not only the ways in which the photographic environment was staffed by women (see Chapter Five) but also the manner in which photography studios were expected to be constructed and decorated to render a home-like atmosphere of comfort. Richard Rudisill has compared comments in the literature on the decor of American daguerreotype studios in the United States, such as Mathew Brady's exceptionally elaborate studio opened in 1853 in New York (Figure 44), with those in Europe. In general, American galleries (like those in Europe) displayed samples of their work at their front entrances. Inside, the business was usually divided into three areas, the "operating" studios fitted with skylights on the topmost floor, the production rooms in which the photographs were manufactured, and the reception rooms which were comfortably and often sumptuously appointed with fine furniture and carpeting, paintings, prints, sculpture, and daguerreotypes (and later, photographs). Clients would visit the reception room and studio areas but the workrooms were reserved for employees only. Rudisill concludes that American daguerreotype studios welcomed "clients as visitors in a home different from their own only in degree." This higher degree of decor contributed an aura of special occasion to the portrait sitting.[24]

Rudisill's search of American photographic literature revealed that studios in the United States embraced a concern with decor, mood, and atmosphere that was, seemingly, ignored in equal measure in London and Paris. In 1852, for example, Humphrey's Journal reported on studio arrangements in London and found them wanting:

> Their reception, or exhibition rooms are small, and not fitted up with any particular regard to taste or comfort, while, you know, in the States, the rooms of the best practitioners are like the best furnished drawing rooms. One of the best and most celebrated Daguerrian artists here has a specimen room not more than eight feet square, with a very small number of pictures, of course.[25]

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[24] See Richard Rudisill, Mirror Image: The Influence of the Daguerreotype on American Society (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1971), 200-203. I thank Allan Sekula for this reference. A detailed description of the Brady studio in New York is found in "Brady's Daguerreotype Establishment," Humphrey's Journal V (15 June 1853): 73-74.

[25] From Humphrey's Journal IV (1 December 1852), 250-51 quoted in Rudisill, Mirror Image, 201.

In August 1853, the Knickerbocker reprinted an article originally published in Paris that described what one would experience in a Paris studio:

> Attracted by the frame of portraits, you walk up-stairs, and into a room that looks something like a shop without the wares. There is no display of goods here to beguile customers; nothing looks like business but the small compartment at the window, screened off with canvas, in which recess the sitter is placed. But this little chamber is not always unoccupied on your arrival....In the mean time you are at liberty to walk about, to sit down, or to chat with the assistants of the establishment, whilst choosing a plate....[26]

The practice of displaying one's goods in a street-front window, the "frame of portraits" at studio entrances that initially intrigued the passerby enough to go into a daguerreotype studio in 1853 (compare Figures 45 and 20), was one which Notman declined. His newspaper advertisements explicitly advised readers that "No Specimens" were on display in the front windows.[27] Rather, to view samples, one had to enter the gallery. Perhaps the goal behind such a strategy was to resist too commercial or "common" an appearance, and instead portray a certain sense of discretion and exclusivity that would lend Notman's enterprise a more prestigious status.

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[26] From The Knickerbocker XLII (August 1853), 137 quoted in Rudisill, Mirror Image, 201.

[27] See the sample advertisement from 1859 in J. Russell Harper and Stanley Triggs, Portrait of a Period: A Collection of Notman Photographs 1856-1915 (Montreal: McGill University Press, 1967), Figure 13 (n.p.).

William Notman's interior studio arrangements, however, adhered to the finest American tradition of fitting studios to resemble elegant and embracing domestic interiors. In an 1867 letter to Edward Wilson, the editor of the Philadelphia Photographer, Notman wrote that

> ...the studios or rooms in every-day use,...if well appointed, ought not only to be carpeted, but abound in suitable pieces of furniture and choice ornaments, such as are usually seen in drawing or sitting rooms. If possible, let such be real, and so arranged that sitters may have somewhat of a home feeling.[28]

It was a setting that came to be identified with the representation of women in photographic portraits, or at least for women of society. For example, Notman's portrait repertoire was described to readers of the Art-Journal of London in 1865 as

> certainly among the most brilliant carte-de-visite portraits we have ever examined. Military officers in uniform and undress, civilians, ladies "at home" and "abroad," children - all either in groups, or single - full-lengths, half-lengths, and heads, make up a very charming gallery of those who, it may be presumed, form a portion of Montreal "society."[29]

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[28] Quoted in "Our Picture," Philadelphia Photographer (December 1867): 399.

[29] "Canadian Photographs," Art-Journal, n.s., 4 (1 March 1865): 95.

Attention to making the sitter feel "at home" first arose after 1840 in response to the concern and uncertainty that surrounded the novel experience of having one's likeness made in the early daguerreotype days. Dislike of wooden "likenesses" which seemed to bear little resemblance at all - or at least not one that was discerned to be truly and literally reflective of the character of the sitter - threatened the credibility of the daguerreotype as a mirror of reality and subsequently its potential profitability. To counter negative response, a proliferation of commentaries was launched on how the photographer should prepare the patron and how the patron could herself best prepare for a "successful" photographic sitting.

American photographer Marcus Aurelius Root dedicated an entire chapter to the problem in his book of 1864, The Camera and the Pencil; or The Heliographic Art, one of the first treatises on photography that focused on aesthetic rather than technical problems of the medium. Root's concern was to produce a studio environment in which all things "converge to the single point of producing in the sitter a genial, elevated tone of sentiment and emotion."[30]

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[30] M.A. Root, The Camera and the Pencil; or The Heliographic Art (Philadelphia: M.A. Root and J.B. Lippincott & Co., 1864; New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1864; repr., Pawlet, Vermont: Helios, 1971 with an introduction by Beaumont Newhall), 46.

To accomplish this, he recommended stocking the waiting room with books, engravings, prints, and curiosities that would arouse interest and relax clients while waiting their turn. He also recommended that the curve, "the authentic line of beauty,"[31] be the principal design element. The walls of the room should be hung with

> finely-executed and appropriate pictures in various styles...while marble or other busts and statues should occupy the most suitable locations....I would have them so various, as to correspond to the leading types of character which might be expected among the sitters, and to be calculated to call into vivid action the feelings pertaining to these characters....
>
> ...Individuals of both sexes, who have been renowned for high traits and noble deeds, might well be introduced largely. It were best to affix the name to each, as this would enhance the interest....So far as possible, let all the heliographs [photographs] exhibited be those produced in the establishment.[32]

Root's solution was to make the sitter feel "at home," relaxing while elevating his or her thoughts so as to attain a visage revealing "the soul of the original, - that individuality or selfhood, which differences him from all beings...."[33] Root argued that the face was the key element to a portrait "since its true expression, when transcribed, is the revelation of the real man..."[34]

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[31] Ibid.

[32] Ibid., 47. Notman included the names of sitters with their portraits and negative numbers in the picture albums. Perhaps the purpose was, as Root recommended, to increase clients' interest in the photographs on display.

[33] Root, Camera and the Pencil, 143. (Root's emphasis.)

Root's book advised photographers how to arrange and light their studios, dress and pose their sitters, and engage in conversation with their clients to achieve successful portraits. In the early 1870s, both Edward Wilson, of the Philadelphia Photographer, and William Notman published booklets advising clients how to prepare for a portrait sitting.[35] Wilson's pamphlet was directed mainly to women; men were advised to "give attention to the matter of color of dress, as directed in the remarks to the ladies."[36] Notman's fifteen-page booklet doubled as an advertising circular for the studio: included were lists of medals won by the Notman studio; album, stereoscopic, and large photographs, and portfolios available for purchase; and charges for portrait work. "Dress" and "Attitude and Expression" were the categories addressed at greatest length. Fabric, colour, pattern, and style were discussed for what showed best in the black-and-white photograph. Clients were further advised that

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[34] Ibid., 89. (Root's emphasis.)

[35] See Edward L. Wilson, "To My Patrons," (1871) in Photography: Essays and Images. Illustrated Readings in the History of Photography. ed. Beaumont Newhall (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1980), 129-133; and W. Notman, Photography. Things You Ought to Know (Montreal: Louis Perrault & Co., n.d.) in Notman Photographic Archives, Notman Publications file.

[36] Wilson, "To My Patrons," 133.

> [t]he one thing needful for a sitter to learn is how to forget himself. If he could be perfectly free from self-consciousness, he would secure a natural and truthful picture....Nature cannot be altered by the artist, but may be aided by a judicious and happy arrangement.
>
> While a pleasing expression is desirable[,] a characteristic one is still more so, as nothing is so silly or undignified as a forced smile.[37]

The desire was to individuate, or, more accurately, to present the sitter with a portrait that fixed and projected characteristics that he or she believed defined and established his or her unique value and place within the group in which membership was claimed. As the ideal presented to Montrealers was a bourgeois ideal, sitters would wish to affirm a distinguished place, one that blended harmoniously within a bourgeois stratum.

By 1865, the Notman studio was arranged in a manner believed conducive to obtaining a good portrait photograph, one in which photographers could meet the expectation of capturing the sitter's "likeness":

> On entering [the Notman studio], the visitor is shown into the reception rooms, a suite of four, the walls of which are completely covered with the finest specimens of the art, comprising portraits of celebrities, foreign and local, many of which are exquisitely finished in water colors and oil; here will also be found some very fine paintings by Vicat, Cole, Deerman, Jacobi, Way, &c., with

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[37] Notman, Photography, 8-9.

> many choice proof engravings, which give diversity and add to the interest of the whole. There is also an interesting relic of the visit of the Prince of Wales to this Province, in a duplicate set of the Photographs presented by the Government to H.R.H., comprising views of the most noted points of interest in Canada, from the Saguenay to Niagara....At the extreme right of the reception rooms are dressing rooms for ladies and gentlemen respectively, from which to ascend to the, what is commonly termed, operating room, on which Mr. Notman has bestowed the utmost attention, and the result is a room of admirable proportions with soft agreeable light, and furnished with many elegant and choice accessories.[38]

The "ladies of the printing room" worked in an environment whose public rooms pretended to an atmosphere of private hospitality and in whose studios a sense of the comfort of the sitter's home was sought. The engraving of the reception room area published in the Canadian Illustrated News in 1872 shows the rooms to be richly carpeted, the walls lined with large portraits, and the counters covered with small portraits among which a "lady" browses (Figure 38). Two women are working behind the reception desk. One is engaged in a transaction with a "gentleman," the other is looking through a picture album while talking with a young boy in Scottish dress. Two or three people are waiting in the rooms in the background - no doubt in preparation for having their portraits made. A quiet, comfortable air pervades.

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[38] Montreal Business Sketches, 25-26.

The Notman studio's display of visual goods available for purchase, above and beyond the personal portrait photograph, is securely located within European traditions of marketing print imagery as well as practices established in American daguerreotype studios. (See Figures 46 and 44.) The interior display that a visitor would encounter once through the doors of a North American studio was itself derived from commercial practices for selling images to a middle-class "reading public" clientele from eighteenth-century European book and print sellers.[39] Even earlier, in seventeenth-century Netherlands, bookshops stocked paintings for a monied, literate collecting public.[40]

The atmosphere of the reception area carried over into the portrait studio. The congeniality and intimacy marking the photograph of the printing room workers is dependent upon the personal nature of the setting. A group portrait of the women in their working clothes or located in the printing room itself, a group portrait that prioritized these women's working place, roles, and relationships, would have produced a much different description of these women and their lives.

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[39] See Anne-Marie Link, "Papierkultur: the New Public, the Print Market and the Art Press in Late Eighteenth Century Germany." Ph.D. Dissertation, Birkbeck College, 1993, especially pp. 54-55; and Link's article "Carl Ludwig Junker and the Collecting of Reproductive Prints," Print Quarterly XII (1995), 361-374.

[40] Peter C. Sutton, Masters of 17th-Century Dutch Landscape Painting (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1988), 112, Figure 12. I thank Jetske Sybesma for bringing this material to my attention.

Compare the photo Miss Findlay's Group with that of another of Notman's employees, Mr. Sandham and Friends, of 1880 (Figure 47). The well-known painter, Mr. Henry Sandham, standing furthest from the easel, had been Notman's most prized and highly paid employee. He left Notman's employment in 1877 after thirteen years at a biweekly wage of $80 - ten times the wages of the printing room employees. Henry Sandham was photographed in the traditional depiction of a painter with the product of his labours or those of a friend; he is engaged here with colleagues examining a painting. Seated in front of Sandham are prominent Toronto painter Robert Harris on the left and painter John Fraser who opened the Notman studio's third location, Notman and Fraser, in Toronto in 1868. Standing next to the easel is Napoléon Bourassa, a Montreal painter, novelist, and critic. Next to him, at centre, is Otto Jacobi, a Montreal painter. While the identity of the individuals depicted, including that of the principal figure in the group, is not disclosed by the label in the picture book, in contrast to Miss Findlay's Group the profession and stature of the men in this group, Mr. Sandham's "friends," are clear. Furthermore, the men are intent upon the professional matter at hand - a critique of the painting on the easel. Their relationship is one clearly founded on their work; these men served as the first jury of the Canadian Academy which was established in 1880.

So far, only three of the women gathered with Miss Findlay have been conclusively named on the basis of comparison with personal portraits. One of these is Miss Findlay herself who had her portrait made in 1874, the year she joined Notman's establishment (Figure 48). Because of that, she can be identified as the woman seated on the floor in front of the group. Her starting wage on 24 April 1874 was $7 biweekly. Her wage was $8 biweekly when she left Notman's employment on 28 July 1876. Miss Findlay is strikingly portrayed in her personal photograph. Her hair and figure are elaborately attired; the dress is ornate, patterned in small stripes with ruffled detailing, and sporting large buttons and a fine lace scarf. Despite the marvelous finery, though, the centre of focus is claimed by the eyes with which Miss Findlay engages the viewer in a direct look. Miss Findlay's portrait is an elaborate description of a feminine woman, a lady. Her face and attire are on display at their best for the camera and, ultimately, the viewer of the photograph. The photograph inscribes Miss Findlay with the status of a young, single woman of means at leisure.

Miss Findlay's two companions who have been identified are Miss Jessie Brown, seated behind her and Miss Bella Logan, seated second from the right.[41] (In the 1875 photograph of the exterior of the Notman studio, the unidentified woman bent over examining a print in the third set of windows from the left appears to be the same woman seated to the right of Miss Bella Logan in the portrait group.) Miss Brown's own portrait was made in 1880 when she posed with her sister, Mrs. Robert Stenton, also a Notman employee, in a portrait labelled in the picture books as Mrs. Stenton and Sister (Figure 23). (See Chapter Five for a discussion of this portrait.) Mrs. Stenton does not appear to be among the printing room women.

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[41] The woman seated on Miss Bella Logan's right (to the viewer's left) bears a physical resemblance to Miss Logan. She may be either Miss Jessie Logan, who is listed in the wages books between 24 May 1872 ($6 biweekly) and 19 May 1876 ($9) or Miss M. Logan, listed between 22 November 1872 ($6) and 28 July 1876 ($8). Miss M. Logan's carte-de-visite portrait was made in 1873 (87,164-I) but does not match perfectly with any of the group figures. Based on the wages of the identified women in the photograph, which were at $8 and $9 biweekly, the following women might also be among the printing room staff: Miss Anderson (22 November 1872, $6 biweekly to 14 July 1876, $9 and 1 December 1876, $9 to 15 June 1877, $9); Miss Kelly (11 April 1873, $6 to 20 August 1876, $8); Miss Beatty (13 February 1874, $7 to 30 June 1876, $8); Mrs. Barlow (11 February 1876, $10 to 20 August 1876, $8); Miss Mary Brown (31 October 1867, $7 to 21 April 1876, $11). Three other women whose wages were also in this range, Miss E. McQueen, Miss L. Spence, and Miss Annie Spence had their portraits made at other times but cannot be matched with anyone in the group. Of these women, however, four left Notman's staff in 1876 prior to Miss Findlay: Miss Jessie Logan, Miss Anderson, Miss Beatty, and Miss Mary Brown. Miss M. Logan left the same day as Miss Findlay. The large number of women leaving their employment at Notman's suggests that not all left on their own accord. In 1877, Notman's staff numbers returned to those of the late 1860s as production returned to the same levels. See Appendix D.

The cabinet portrait of Miss Bella Logan was made in 1874, the same year Miss Findlay's was made (Figure 49). Miss Bella Logan's name first appears in Notman's wages books on 29 March 1872 at $5 biweekly.[42] She was earning $9 biweekly in 1876 when the group photo was taken and was at this same wage level when she left Notman's on 20 April 1877. As with Miss Findlay, Miss Bella Logan's appearance is carefully arrayed for the viewer's pleasure. The ample skirts and bustle of her garment almost fill the width of the photograph. Like Miss Findlay, Miss Logan is seated well forward in her chair to accommodate her skirts; she leans against a bit of furniture to assist her balance and appears lightly and elegantly posed.

Like Mr. Sandham and Friends, Miss Findlay's Group is composed around an interpersonal dynamic, the small drama being played by the group on the left. The women's bond, however, is not so readily apparent. They, too, are presented as sharing a stature and class position. However, the common interest that is the basis of their friendship with Miss Findlay and each other is not defined. Nor are the individual lives of these women readily known. Nevertheless, something of the lives of these women as workers is revealed by the photograph itself. The set and manner in which the women are posed tells much about the environment in which they spent their time together. The "young ladies of the printing room" worked in an environment whose public rooms pretended to an atmosphere of private hospitality and in whose studios a sense of the comfort of the sitter's home was sought. The congeniality and intimacy marking the photograph of the printing room workers is dependent upon the personal nature of the setting. The personal nature of the setting itself represents a significant component of these women's employment conditions.

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[42] Lovell's Montreal Directory 1876-77 (Corrected to 20 June 1876) (Montreal: John Lovell, 1876), 531, lists a Mrs. Isabella Logan, widow of John, at 119 Bleury Street. Miss Bella Logan, as well as Miss Jessie Logan and Miss M. Logan, may have been her daughters. This would mirror the situation of the Brown sisters employed at Notman's and discussed in Chapter Five.

IV. Photography and the Visual Codes of Femininity

The Civil Code concept of public/private suggests a simple, clearly demarcated structure for gender relations in mid-nineteenth-century Montreal. However, a notion of public/private overlooks the complexity of social structure and interaction that defies simple binary analysis today as much as it defied the control of civil law at the time of its enactment. Class, gender, and ethnicity were variable conditions that affected the social relations allowed an individual by the Civil Code. Single and widowed British Canadian petit-bourgeois women who worked in the photography industry and contributed their portraits to its archives make an example that demonstrates a complex and contradictory relationship between women's working, domestic, and civil lives.[43] The difficulty here is reading the smooth, singular image of the portrait photograph in light of the discontinuous nature of women's social relations. The portrait of Miss E. McQueen of 1874, for example, belies the sitter's status as an industrial employee (Figure 50).[44] Instead, her portrait displays a careful adherence to bourgeois standards of feminine pose, dress, space, and activity: a graceful, serpentine position, gentle glance beyond the viewer, finely clothed and well-groomed appearance, comfort and warmth of the encircling space, and an engagement with photographs as a leisure activity. That the photographs are unmounted, however, is unusual and may serve as a subtle indicator of her work at Notman's. Whether or not the photographs function in this way, the portrait of Miss E. McQueen presents a woman who appears to fall within the bounds of ideal bourgeois femininity and thus would blend harmoniously with the middle and upper class of clients who were the source of the Notman's studio prestige and success.

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[43] See Teresa de Lauretis discussion of contradiction in "The Technology of Gender," 1-30 in Technologies of Gender: Essays on Theory, Film and Fiction (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1987).

[44] Miss E. McQueen's name was entered in the Notman wages books from 23 May 1873 at $7 biweekly to 27 July 1879 at $9 biweekly.

Miss McQueen's representation corroborates Allan Sekula's argument that while the privileges and rituals of bourgeois photographic portraiture - the formal presentation and confirmation of one's social status - filtered in altered forms to lower class ranks, social hierarchization was by no means dismantled.[45] Holmes's alarm at transgressions of class indicators, however, suggests that the hierarchization was not only fully visible but membership in upper ranks vulnerable to impostors. That Holmes felt compelled to warn interlopers that photographs reveal the "truth" suggests a fear that photographic meaning was known to be flexible by nature and its production was, in fact, subject to manipulation. Holmes's worry makes sense in a period in which society was in transition, social mobility was both a motivator and reward, and, because of this instability of social placement, one no longer knew the truth of others' claims to pedigree, their background, lineage, in short, their claim to middle-class legitimacy. Asserting the power of photographic truth also served as a means by which those who had achieved the coveted status could maintain an elite, exclusive space in contrast to the democratic ideal. Here rests the social ambivalence that the photographic portrait was especially adept at portraying: ideals of equal opportunity were compromised by the value placed on individual worth and the merits of hard work, leading to systemic biases that in turn limited access to mobility. Miss McQueen makes legitimate use of a bourgeois visual medium and vocabulary that has filtered down to her rank; Holmes stands firm, however, claiming that access to the means of representation does not carry with it the original identity, status, and attendant privileges.

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[45] Allan Sekula, "The Body and the Archive," October 39 (Winter, 1986): 6.

Nevertheless, class is a fluid element of one's social identity. While the social ideal was upward mobility, Miss McQueen's footing on the bottom rung of the ladder of the bourgeoisie would have been one that remained precarious by virtue of her low-paying employment and limited opportunity to improve her prospects. Although a tenet of early industrial capitalism was that with hard work one's economic standing would improve - as the Prince of Wales himself reminded the Victoria Bridge builders - employment was not a ticket to class mobility for women no matter their national or racial origins. Miss McQueen, for example, did not have access to the career path opened for William Topley and his male peers at Notman's. In consequence, women's class mobility was tied to the fortunes of a father or husband. In turn, single women and widowed women without adult sons lacked this access and had no recourse to economic accomplishments to secure bourgeois ranking. Their only appeal was through the codes of feminine appearance and behaviour. For women, adherence to the ideal of femininity was a tool to check or guide the flow of social rank.

Femininity is, in part, a visual cultural code. The portrait photograph worked within an industrial capitalist environment to define, reproduce, and disseminate the dominant cultural definition of femininity. Photographic visualization of the feminine became a lucrative manufacturing industry in itself in response to a need to define and realize a place for women within the new economic order. Ironically, the industry was at the same time a new and suitable employment place for women who, by the very fact they worked, skirted the edges of the ideal of feminine behaviour.

While a bourgeois definition of femininity - the married woman enshrined as wife and mother in the domestic sphere - was socially coded as honorific, the results of its photographic display were less certain. A sitter's adherence to contemporary standards of size, shape, posture, gesture, space, and appearance signalled femininity. Honouring women for their feminine "likeness" was an essential function of the bourgeois photograph. Meanwhile, photographic portraiture was a particularly apt technological practice for rendering a blending of the honorific and the repressive aspects of femininity.[46] The ideal woman was one without social, political, or financial autonomy or equality. By presenting themselves as private women in their portrait photographs, the employees at Notman's studio were portraying that description of themselves which was valued by society, rather than that which seemed to have little worth. The choice made to present themselves as private women in the domestic sphere, rather than in their role as paid employees, was a risky proposition in light of the ambiguity of photographic representation: spectacularizing and valorising the social ideal of femininity could in turn fuel the devaluation of women's paid labour - including their own which contributed to the making of these portraits.

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[46] Allan Sekula discusses the honorific and repressive functions of photographic portraiture, particularly that of the criminal, in "The Body and the Archive," 3-64.

The portrait photographs of Miss E. McQueen and of Miss Findlay's Group contain enough elements to suggest, however, that these women's portraits did not falter in this way. These sitters represent themselves as women who had reconciled, at least in part, disparate expectations and needs. Miss McQueen's image, for example, containing the attribute of unmounted photographs as a component of her feminine appearance, portrays a woman who could meet social expectations of proper middle-class decorum as well as suitable paid labour. That is, she could carry both roles simultaneously, at least while single, and for all appearances was thriving.

Miss Findlay's Group works in much the same way, although a more complex tableau is played out. This group portrait marks and celebrates a relationship in their work environment that these women enjoyed and valued enough to honour with a portrait in commemoration. As such, the conversation piece signals that while all was not smooth sailing with their interpersonal relationships, they were women of a kind - professional and socially respectable - who had been able to share with one another moral support and friendship in their working environment. By honouring the companionship that had been brought about by their shared work environment - a companionship not as readily available to domestic women isolated from each other in their individual home environments - these women, with the tools of visual representation at their disposal, had claimed a place for themselves in the picture books, commanding their own equal space and image in a manner that appropriated and affirmed the characteristics of bourgeois representation rather than deviating in any remarkable way from the norm.

Miss Findlay's Group, as well as *Mr. Burke and Friends*, appears to record close, same-sex friendships that were common and fundamental components of social relations in North America in the (pre-Freudian) eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Carroll Smith-Rosenberg has situated these relationships in a society "characterized in large part by rigid gender-role differentiation within the family and within society as a whole, leading to the emotional segregation of women and men."[47] Women accompanied women through the rituals and passages of life, such as courtship, marriage or spinsterhood, childbirth, family life, and death. Women's circles of friends were an integral part of their placement and identification in the world as their relationships and physical and emotional support structures were grounded there.

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[47] Carroll Smith-Rosenberg, "The Female World of Love and Ritual: Relations between Women in Nineteenth-Century America," *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 1 (1975): 9.

Miss Findlay's Group, *Mrs. Stenton and Sister*, and *Mrs. and Miss Young* situate the relationships of these working women within the conventions and norms of their time and place. The relationships of the colleagues in *Miss Findlay's Group*, based on a shared workplace and day-to-day interaction, if not companionship, are fixed and inscribed by this photograph within the prevailing code of the feminine sphere. The friendship and support that they gave and represented to one another, played out in the circle on the left, is proclaimed to be their primary relationship - not only compatible with their role as workers but its essential characteristic. The composition and label of the photograph fixes that identity - first and foremost a segregated community of women - on this group. This claims a place for these women well within the social code of the "feminine." Furthermore, it claims a legitimate place for working women well within this defining sphere. The marginal and contradictory status that might otherwise be theirs as petit-bourgeois, employed women, is thereby effaced.

V. Conclusion

The notion of public and private spheres legislated by the Civil Code was just that, a notion rather than an overreaching social practice in Montreal. Although women had no public political role of note, they remained economically significant and real actors in the public sphere. Rather than bowing to the ideal of bourgeois femininity, women of all marital groups and most economic classes sought and acquired work at various stages in their life cycles. The intimate, personal nature of the photographs of both women and men workers harmonizes well with the workplace and jobs carried out by these people. The women workers, like the men, were "at home" in their work environment. The women and men were neither entrepreneurs nor labourers but something in between: petit-bourgeois employees who also took their leisure, existing on the margins of both groups, and, in their day-to-day doings working in a small industrial establishment catering to the personal needs of a middle-class clientele, slipping from one rank or role to the other as circumstances required. These petit-bourgeois photography workers manipulated imagery, literally and figuratively, producing occasional images of themselves that laid claim to "likeness" as required of, and searched for, in such portrait photography. Here lies the nub of contention in these images of Notman's workers, women and men alike: just what was the nature of "likeness" and the terms upon which it was obtained? Furthermore, in the end, what description or "likeness" was portrayed?

Complicating this was the private nature of the presentations in the context of the public nature of the photographic gallery. The private atmosphere of the representations was placed on public display. And it is public display that was, ultimately, the item manufactured and sold by photographic galleries. The proofs were mounted in the picture albums for subsequent clients to see. Visitors to Notman's would not only be looking for quality in the gallery's production and taste in the settings and poses, but also looking for the faces of anyone they might know and then searching that representation for the quality of "likeness," the fixing of the expression of the individual, unique person, that was so important to both photographers and portrait sitters.

The individualization of the sitter was important as a mark of distinction within the massive bourgeois archive to which sitters such as Miss Findlay, Mr. Burke, and their companions strove to conform in their photographic representations. Individuality was sought and sold in the elusive and subjective term of "likeness." That individuality, however, was not defined in specific terms of the paid or unpaid contributions these individuals were making to their society. It was an individuality bound all round by markings of class. The act of having one's portrait made photographically, especially one made at Notman's which distinguished its own place by its elite clientele, was a sign of the purchaser's middle-class position.

The petit-bourgeois women and men pictured in the Notman group portraits - women and men who worked for others and claimed no professional rank or public distinction - defined themselves collectively, in public visual representations gathered in the picture books, by their class ranking. For these people floating between two seemingly clearly defined class divisions, labouring and bourgeoisie, worker and owner, photographic visual representation offered an avenue by which to claim a place in the elite realm. Their portraits demonstrated adherence to a social code that inscribed social class in terms of material wealth. The presence of material wealth had to be manifested externally, visually, and so the bourgeois photographic portrait was at risk for appropriation by photography studio workers with access to the means of production and a sophisticated understanding of its categories and codes to visually manufacture a claim no matter their own pecuniary circumstances.

Here, studio workers became consumers of their own product. The women working outside their homes in Notman's studio manufactured a luxury product they could ill afford on the wages received in exchange for their labour.[48] Yet, purchasing such a portrait was a significant act of consumption for the petit-bourgeoisie. Elizabeth Ewen has termed such consumption "an act of transcendence, the realization of a new social status."[49] Ewen argues that the urban industrial economy reconfigured class structure, basing class distinctions on access to the new technologies and products of the era rather than on standards of monetary poverty or wealth. Those with such access enjoyed better standards of living. They were the beneficiaries and exemplars of the era's chorus of progress and prosperity. As a rule, those with lower wages had lesser access but could address aspirations to a higher status by choosing to purchase the same types of goods as those with higher disposable incomes, but more cheaply made and from less prestigious shops. Such strategies of consumption visually mitigated the appearance of class difference in the public sphere.[50] Waged labourers could look as modern and prosperous, at least at a glance or from a distance, as those for whom they provided goods and services. The women workers in Notman's studio did exactly that when they had their photographic portraits made. They transcended the status dictated by their income levels by purchasing an image of themselves in the clothing and environment associated with the wealthy bourgeoisie whose orders they filled in their daily employment. The appearance of their portrait proofs mingling in the picture books with those of clients bestowed an aura of veracity to what was essentially a masquerade.

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[48] Cf. Chapter 5, p. 172.

[49] Elizabeth Ewen, Immigrant Women in the Land of Dollars: Life and Culture on the Lower East Side, 1890-1925 (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1985), 67.

At stake in Miss Findlay's Group, as well as in the personal portraits of the individual women, is the representation of working women and the visual coding of their socially defined positions within class categories. The value associated with the possession of one's portrait assured the women themselves, as well as their friends and family, of their petit-bourgeois social identity. To be able to afford a photograph demonstrates a particular standing. If sent to relatives in Scotland, England, or Ireland, these portraits carrying the Notman studio signature would demonstrate the sitter's participation and success in Montreal's "society." The relatives back home would be duly reminded of the comfort and ease that could be obtained by those who emigrated to a seeming land of opportunity – British America, specifically to Montreal. For these sitters, the "young ladies of the printing room" who made up Miss Findlay's group, the portrait photograph was the requisite means of reassuring themselves that they had acquired the means, the manners, the habits, the etiquette of living in, belonging to, and looking "at home" as women workers in an industrializing bourgeois environment. These women photography assistants knew that truth was made by means of the portrait photograph rather than recorded or reflected there.

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[50] Ibid., 23, 26.

CONCLUSION

The photograph was culturally important to women and men aspiring to bourgeois status in the late-nineteenth century. The photographic form and its method of production embodied and displayed rudimentary characteristics that marked the shape and operation of the new economy; photographs were mechanically-based, reproducible, and priced within the financial reach of the bourgeoisie and upper ranks of the petit-bourgeoisie. The Notman studio's picture books organize and present photographs in a way that visually articulates a new, ideal, socio-economic ordering in Montreal, demonstrates individual membership in that ordering, and reiterates desired traits of that ordering. This is accomplished by means of three essential features of the picture book system: the quantity of images, the numbering method, and the orderly surface appearance of the albums. These act to emphasize specific social characteristics and thereby express and promote their value.

The display of quantity demonstrates the industrial nature of photographic representation. Photography studios emerged in the new economy categorized as industrial by the Canadian censuses and appealing to a clientele that fueled the industrial capitalist economy, directed its development, and garnered its rewards. The photographs that their clients consumed were mass-produced objects. The portrait photograph was a commodity that functioned beyond its physical form in an abstract way, however, picturing for those who ordered or made portrait photographs what they needed or wanted to see and understand about themselves and their time and places. The Notman photographic studio's own ability to produce and handle quantity with grace and dispatch is declared by the neat and numerical presentation of the portrait photographs. Chaos appears to be contained by the refined organizing principles that are displayed with the photographs upon the pages of the picture books. The portrait photographs are lined up image after image, row after row, album after album. The repetitive ordering of the images and their interchangeability, apart from the person photographed, provides a classic depiction of mass production. Consecutive numbering, consistent labelling, and alphabetically cross-referenced index books present a carefully thought out, neatly arranged, and readily accessible bookkeeping system and archives.

Secondly, the chronological entry and labelling of clients' images in the picture books present to viewers a particular image of the social structure. By eliminating apparently subjective classification practices based on gender, race or ethnicity, pose, negative size, or any other aspect of the portrait image, the picture books insist on the common, bourgeois status of the majority, the exception being those labelled as such, for example, Oka Indian Chief. It is the democratic ideal or equality of opportunity that is visually represented as the essential element of Montreal's new order. Each portrait photograph - and by implication each sitter - appears to be equal to the next by being categorized sequentially, in order of arrival at the studio and, subsequently, in the picture books. A common social order is continually reproduced as it is photographically manufactured and visualized. It is also contradicted in some cases, such as Miss Findlay's Group, when critically examined.

Thirdly, the orderly surface of the album pages normalizes these elements as the obvious and only suitable system of organization. Each page presents a standard size and shape for every black and white print with handwritten labels and numbers beneath each. This orderliness carries an aura of formality and decorum that is read as characteristic of the society on display. When deconstructed, however, the surface appearance of the books is seen to mask confusion of social status and interchanges among the patrons who visited the studio. The uniformity and presentation of the images that bestow an impression of egality amongst the sitters effectively camouflage relative or fluctuating social placements. The businesslike flow of the picture books also displays the system of manufacture around which the society and its economy were organizing and argues that the new socio-economic order was not only viable but also successful. The picture books, then, stand as a representation of a model middle-class society. Furthermore, as a product of that system, they stand as its "likeness" and an appealing example of its success.

These three features of the picture books simultaneously serve to construct a secondary representation for public consumption - the nature and interests of the photographic studio and industry. The organization and role of studios was integral to the historical function and perception of photography in late-nineteenth century societies. Photography studios in general served as factotums in the industrial economy. The Notman studio, like others, manufactured photographs of civic events, views, architecture, engineering endeavours, industrial sites, social events, and above all, people from across the spectrum of bourgeois endeavour. The studio's job was not simply to record these events and faces but to build an orderly array of photographic images that could be consumed, considered, and understood in a manner conducive to the beliefs of its society. It is here that a notion of the "reflective" quality and effect of the photograph takes form and this has encouraged some curators and historians to analyze the Notman studio photographs as a documentary record of the times rather than a constructed apparition. Presenting the photography industry and the photograph itself as historical chroniclers accords photography an autonomous or outside observer status that the Notman studio's morgue belies upon examination. Furthermore, such a casting renders the archives passive. Certainly, the picture books give every appearance of the industry conceiving of itself and structuring itself and its activities in just such a way. The symbiotic nature of photography and the spectacular culture that is the hallmark of late-nineteenth century industrialized urban societies, however, complicates twentieth-century historians' efforts, including my own, to analyze the era from photographic remains. Always at hand is the paradox of the photographic industry's mass production of a product that was understood to portray the particular "essence" of the singular individual, which set apart the sitter from the "masses."

The photographic images of William Notman and his family, for instance, portray members of the upper echelons of the petit-bourgeoisie who were successful in their business endeavours, active in community service, comfortably housed, and acknowledged members of social and cultural elites. It was the success of the Notmans' small industrial enterprise that made possible the family's social roles and status. The Notmans had a personal stake in the industrial and social organization of Montreal and their studio was a significant participant in that ordering. Its product was both a concrete commodity that met the requirements of an industrial endeavour and a cultural apparatus that defined, described, and ultimately contributed to the conditions in which the technology, the industry, the studio, and the family prospered. Photography was both the industrialization of visual production and the visual re-presentation of industrialization. This made possible the integration and visual ascendancy of photography as the primary means of visual representation in an industrializing bourgeois society.

The massive compilation of the picture books emphasizes that photographic visual representation was integral to the formation and functioning of the nineteenth-century social milieu. The bourgeoisie and petit-bourgeoisie were producing and reproducing their identity by means of photography and refining that identity by means of the manner in which its members' images were categorized and arranged. The photograph was taken up as an historically specific means of establishing, demonstrating, and invoking desired rules of behaviour, appearance, roles, expectations, and opportunities at a moment of profound change. What is particularly useful about examining the visual arrangements that attended this moment is the disclosure of certain traits of the social ordering that emerge in the early days of sorting out and settling upon the organization and contents of the picture books. The visual syntax and praxis of the Notman picture books delineate parameters and contents of nineteenth-century middle-class Montrealers' social aspirations and activities, particularly those of the predominant British-Canadian segment. The premiere values of the encompassing archive - the industrialized re-ordering of socio-economic practices and the institutionalization of the concept of equal opportunity - are visually articulated by means of photographic manufacture and displayed in a particular way in the albums. These picture books, utilized in photography studios in general, embody and convey the spectacular nature of nineteenth-century urban society in North America and Western Europe.

On a more intimate scale, specifically for photography's sitters and viewers (the bourgeoisie, the entrepreneurial petit-bourgeoisie, and those on the margins of middle-class status such as the Notman employees) the photographs constituted a "reality." The portrait photograph not only displayed the sitter's possessions and status, or that status to which the sitter aspired, but also itself was a commodity that conveyed or claimed certain roles and responsibilities, as well as position. The women of Miss Findlay's Group accomplished this adroitly. This portrait of working petit-bourgeois women, when viewed as one among many in the originating context of the picture books, demonstrates that an individual's portrait "likeness" was mitigated by the album collection's projection of a congruent social group.

The Notman studio's picture books today are historical documents that demonstrate how industrially-inspired methods of organization and classification were brought to bear on the manufacturing of a new form of visual imagery. These images were produced, collected, and assembled in massive numbers. Gathering and ordering in this way reshaped the function and value of portraiture at a critical historical moment. Traditional values such as rarity, consumption of time to produce, and focus on the individual were replaced by archival arrangements to make the mass-produced portrait photograph a desirable commodity in the age of industrial manufacturing of goods for the comfort and pleasure of the bourgeoisie. The albums are constructed documents. Seemingly benign elements, such as the numbering system, mix of sitters, and display of the photographs according to size, combine to give them their suasive form. The albums belie disorder and uncertainty brought on by profound socio-economic change. They demonstrate the middle-class longing for stability and clear rules of behaviour governing social relations.

Systems of organizing knowledge, then, have an impact on gender, class, ethnicity, race, and other social categories. These in turn affect the way that knowledge is understood, used, and ultimately interpreted. William Notman's manner of organizing for consumption a collective photographic representation of an industrializing, bourgeois society, for example, was used by the petit-bourgeois women studio workers to advance, as well as conceal, their own status within that society.

The particular group of women employed by Notman in this period were single or widowed and of British origin. This study has concentrated on gender as a classifying element that distinguishes women's experiences, informed in part by ethnicity, race and class statuses, in the new economic order of industrializing capitalism. The significance of ethnicity in the studio workers' representations and experiences needs further study. Such work is hampered at this point by the absence of historical and sociological analyses of petit-bourgeois women's experiences in general in Montreal in this period - a gap which this study hopes to have begun to amend - as well as variables in these experiences, if any, that are founded on national origins.

Bettina Bradbury acknowledges this gap, as does Fernand Ouellet who also points to the absence of specialized study about anglophone women's roles, activities, and experiences in Quebec.[1] Bradbury's studies of the working class family economy and working class women's economic life cycles are models for the kind of work that needs to be undertaken on petit-bourgeois women's economic lives in the industrializing period. Bradbury's study, based on comparisons of French and Irish-Canadian examples, found far more similarities, as a result of class status and economic need, than differences based on ethnicity. Furthermore, the majority of adults in Montreal during the industrializing years were women.[2] Why the histories of these "marginal, but indispensable" women are only beginning to be written is a troubling question in itself.

The portrait of Miss Findlay's Group entered the photographic archive that visually inscribed a collective social identity for the middle class of mid-nineteenth century Montreal. These women deftly directed the gaze of the industrializing society that encountered their image in the picture albums. The narrative pose of the figures, their fancy dress, the cozy, domestic-like setting, and the identifying label that names a particular sitter, allow the portrait of these employed petit-bourgeois women to merge seamlessly with portraits of bourgeois and petit-bourgeois women at home. Nevertheless, they left to posterity a clue to the specificity of their identity. These women's lived existence contradicted an ideal that was powerful and persuasive. The activities of the women employed at Notman's photographic studio, as well as their images, transgress the ideology of separate spheres. Employees at the studio had access to the means of visualization, the tools of cultural production that photography presented as a neoteric industry within a new socio-economic ordering. The workers did not own the means of production and they did not control the photograph's developing role in visually representing the ideals of their social environment and historical time. The picture books that they compiled affirm the prevailing ideals of gendered bourgeois social structure and democratic industrial capitalism that claimed to reward the smart and the industrious with prosperity and social rank. Miss Findlay's Group is the photographic social inscription of women who produced a photographic archive that continues to reproduce the values that determined its shape - the "young ladies of the printing room."

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[1] Bradbury, Working Families, 53; Fernand Ouellet, Economy, Class, and Nation in Quebec: Interpretive Essays, ed. & trans. Jacques A. Barbier (Toronto: Copp Clark Pitman, 1991), 233. Bradbury examines the economic lives of working class girls in "Gender at Work at Home: Family Decisions, the Labour Market, and Girls' Contributions to the Family Economy," (1990) in Canadian Family History, ed. Bettina Bradbury (Toronto: Copp Clark Pitman, 1992), 177-198.

[2] In 1871, for example, for every one hundred men in each age group there were 138.8 women age 15-19, 132.8 women age 20-29, and 111.8 women over age 30.

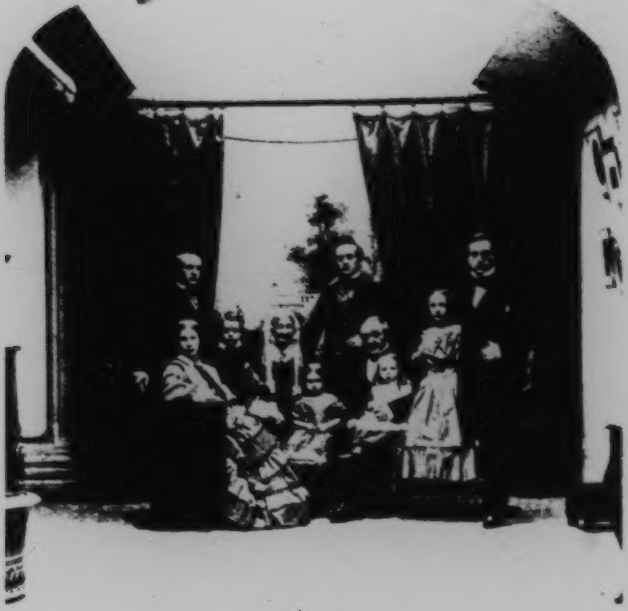
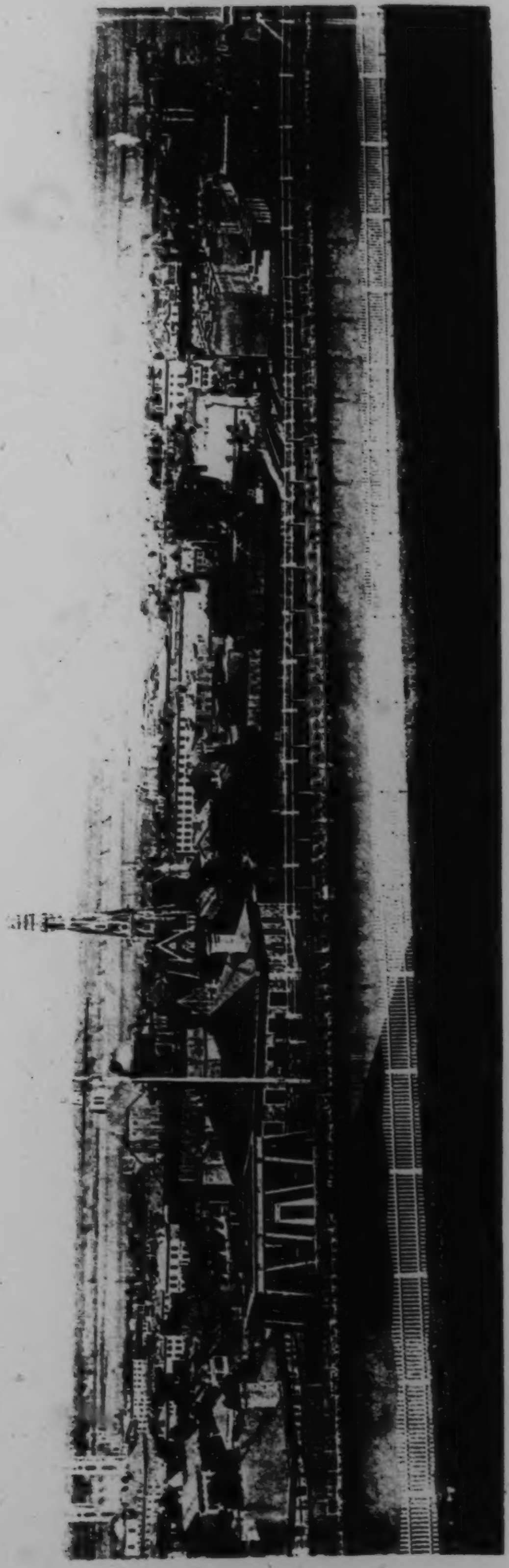


Figure 1. Wm. Notman Studio, The Notman Family, 1859

Figure 2. Wm. Notman Studio, Notman and Sons, 1890

Figure 3. Wm. Notman Studio, *Montreal From Above the Reservoir*, c.1859



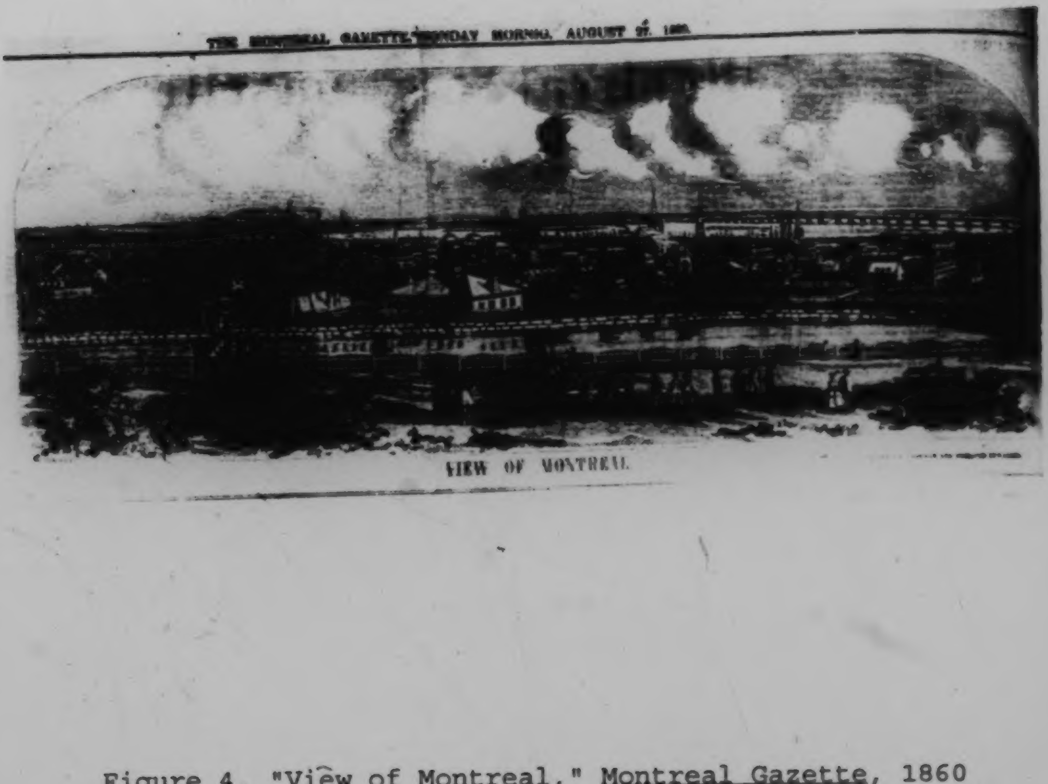

VIEW OF MONTREAL

Figure 4. "View of Montreal," Montreal Gazette, 1860

Figure 5. Wm. Notman Studio, Fanny Notman, c.1858

Figure 6. Wm. Notman Studio, "Maple Box Portfolio," 1861

Figure 7. Wm. Notman Studio, Carte-de-Visite Picture Book, 1862

1057. [illegible]

1058. Mrs Robertson

1059. Mr Robertson

1060. Mrs Dorman

22 x 18

1061. Mrs Major

1062. Mrs Major

1063. Mrs Keith

1064. Mr Keith

1/2

1065. Mr G Handyside

4/11

1067 [illegible]

Mr John [illegible]

Mr [illegible]

Figure 8. Wm. Notman Studio, Carte-de-Visite Picture Book, 1862

10×8

Copy
1093. Mr Marne — 1094 Judge Merritt — 1095 Judge Merritt

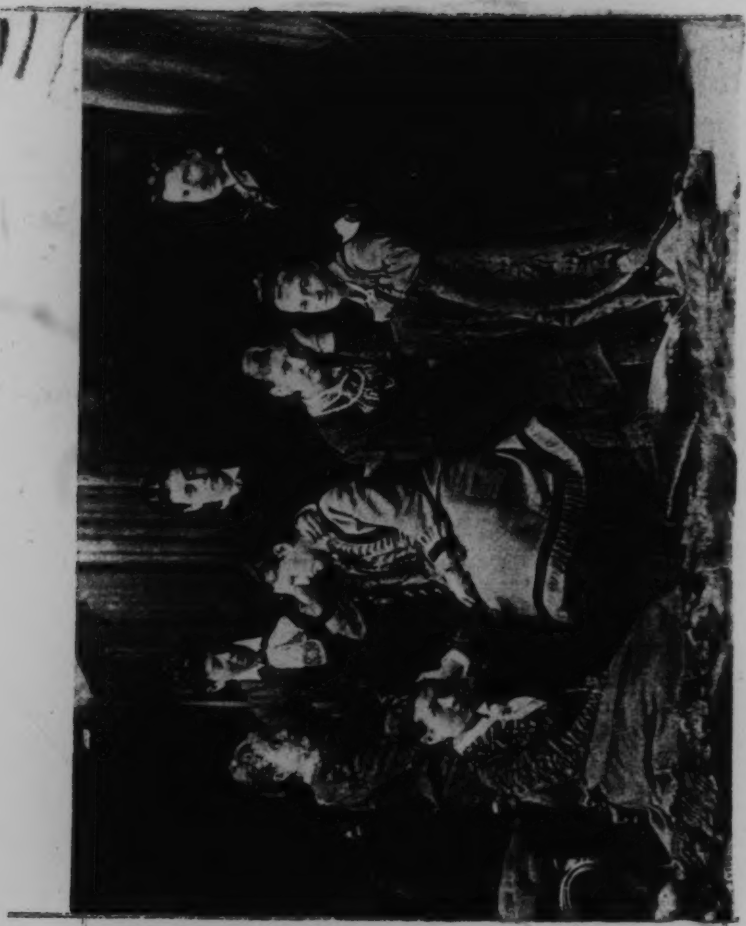
1096. Mr English — 1097. Mr English — 10[illegible] Mr [illegible]

22×18

99. Mr Major[illegible] — 1100 Mr Major — 110[illegible] Jas Grant

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

24323



Miss Findlay's Group

Ladies of the Printing Room X X

24323

Figure 9. Wm. Notman Studio, Miss Findlay's Group, 1876

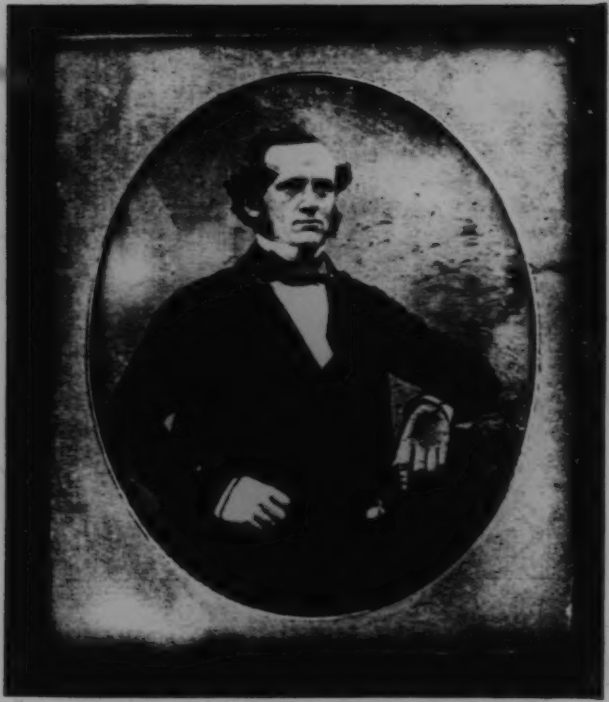


Figure 10. Wm. Notman Studio, William Notman, c.1853

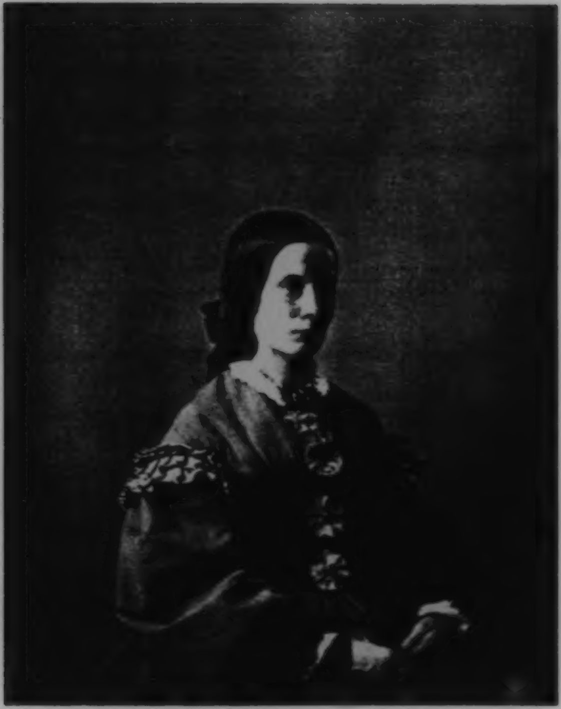


Figure 11. Wm. Notman Studio, Mrs. William Notman, 1862

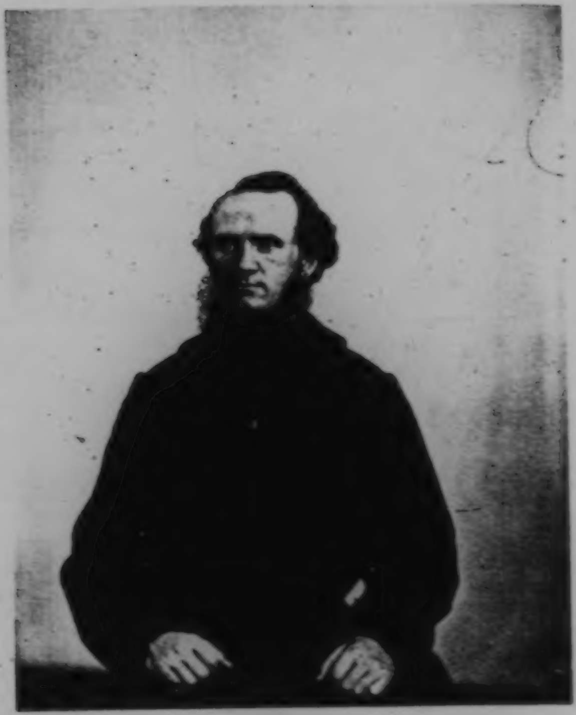
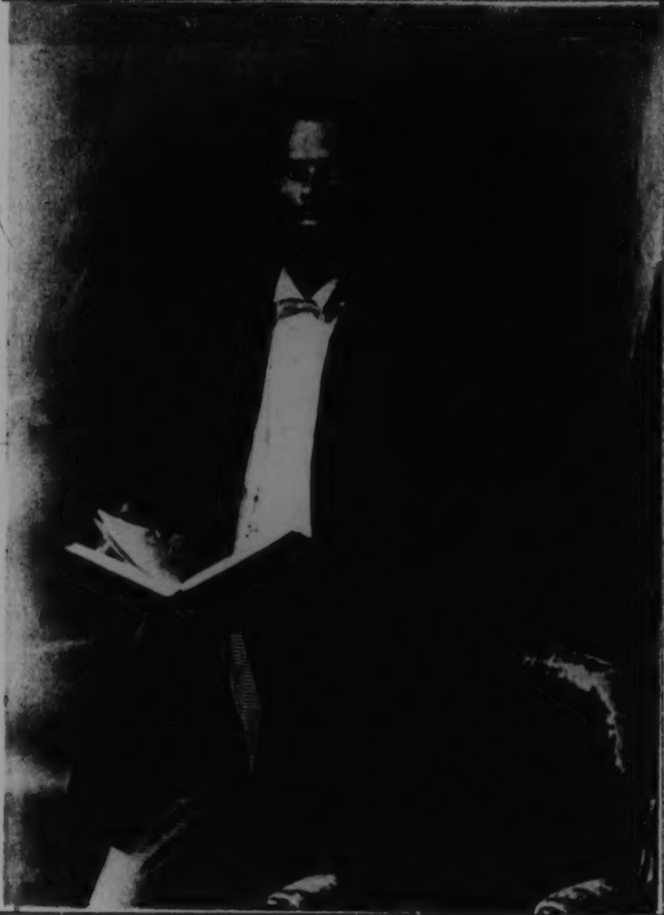


Figure 12. Wm. Notman Studio, William Notman, 1862

Figure 13. Wm. Notman Studio, Dr. Davis, 1875

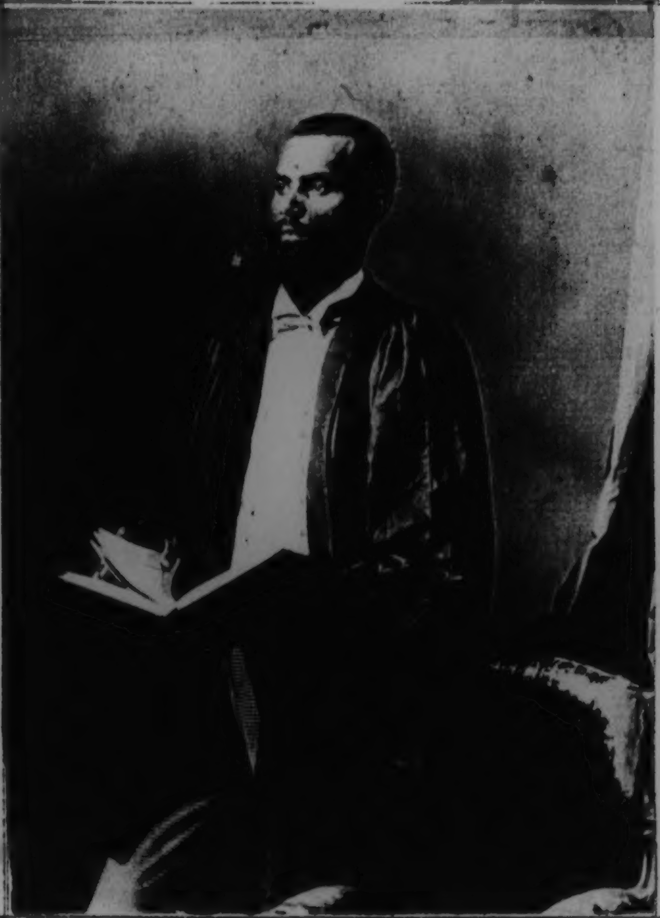
18418



Dr. Davis

18418

18419



Dr. Davis

18419

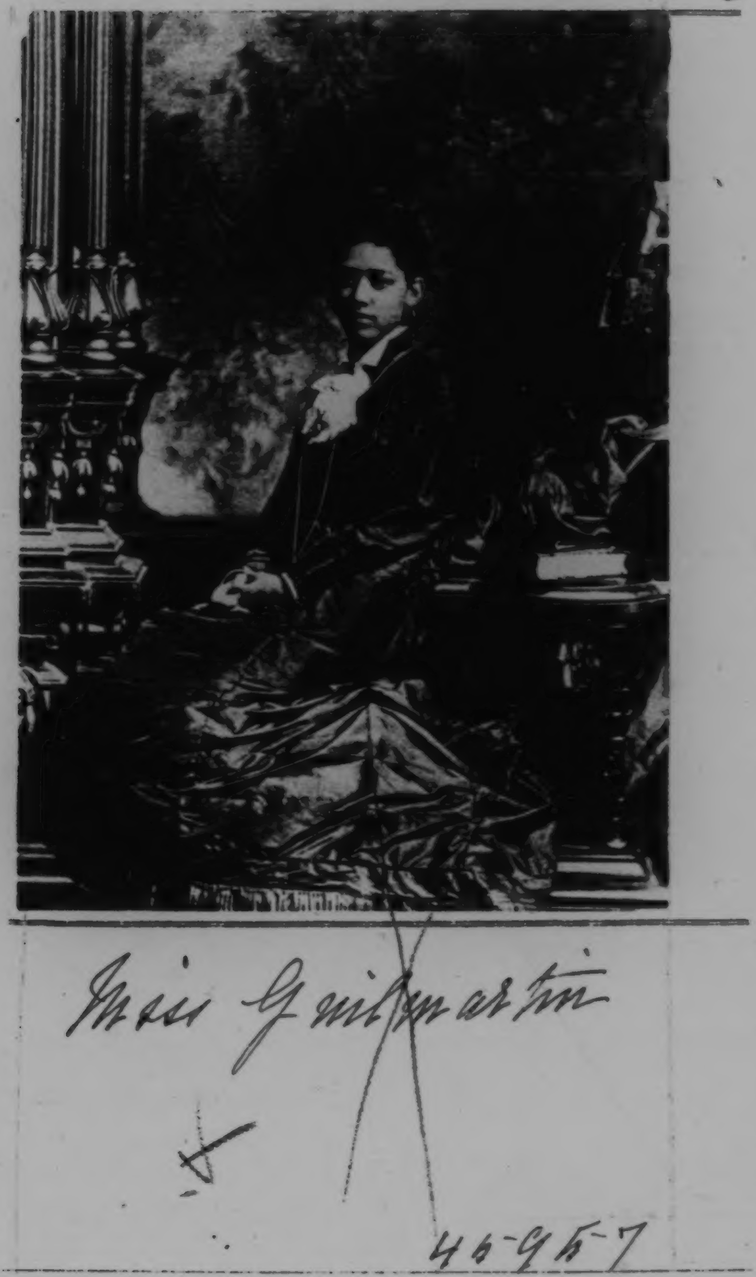

Miss Guilmartin
45-957

Figure 14. Wm. Notman Studio, Miss Guilmartin, 1876

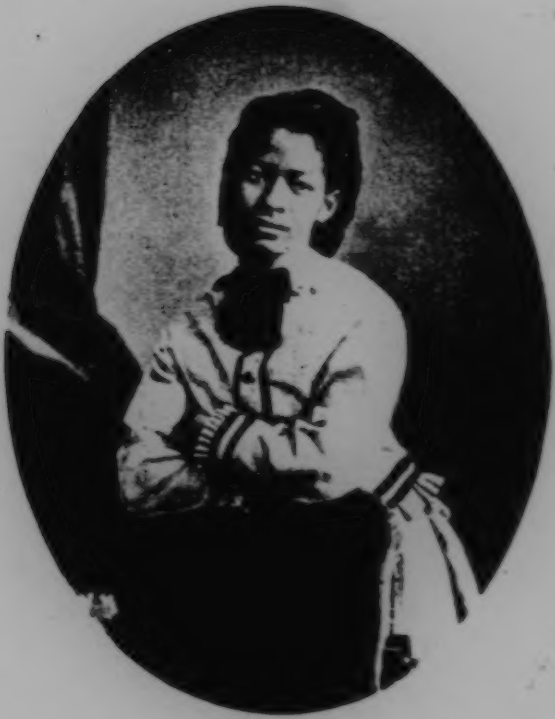


Figure 15. Wm. Notman Studio, Mrs. Cowan's Nurse, 1871

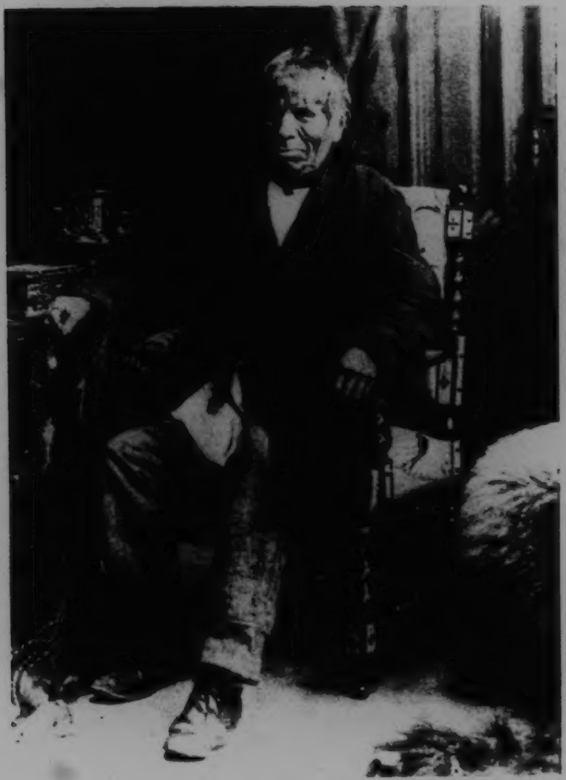


Figure 16. Wm. Notman Studio, Oka Indian Chief, 1870

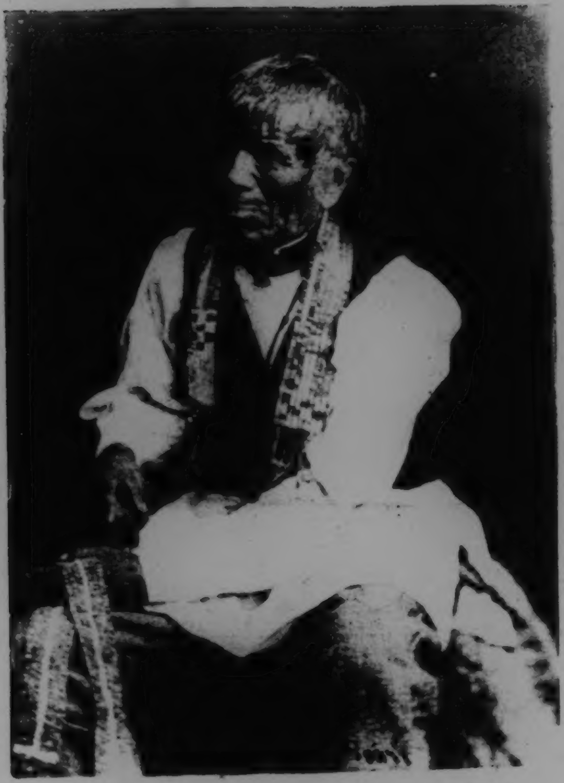


Figure 17. Wm. Notman Studio, Oka Indian Chief, 1870

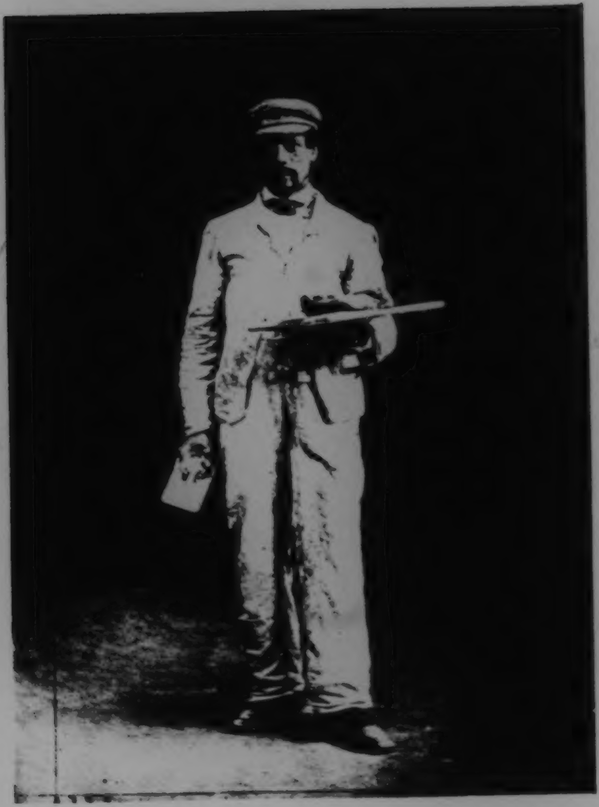


Figure 18. Wm. Notman Studio, The Plasterer, 1862

Figure 19. Wm. Notman Studio, The Carter, 1866

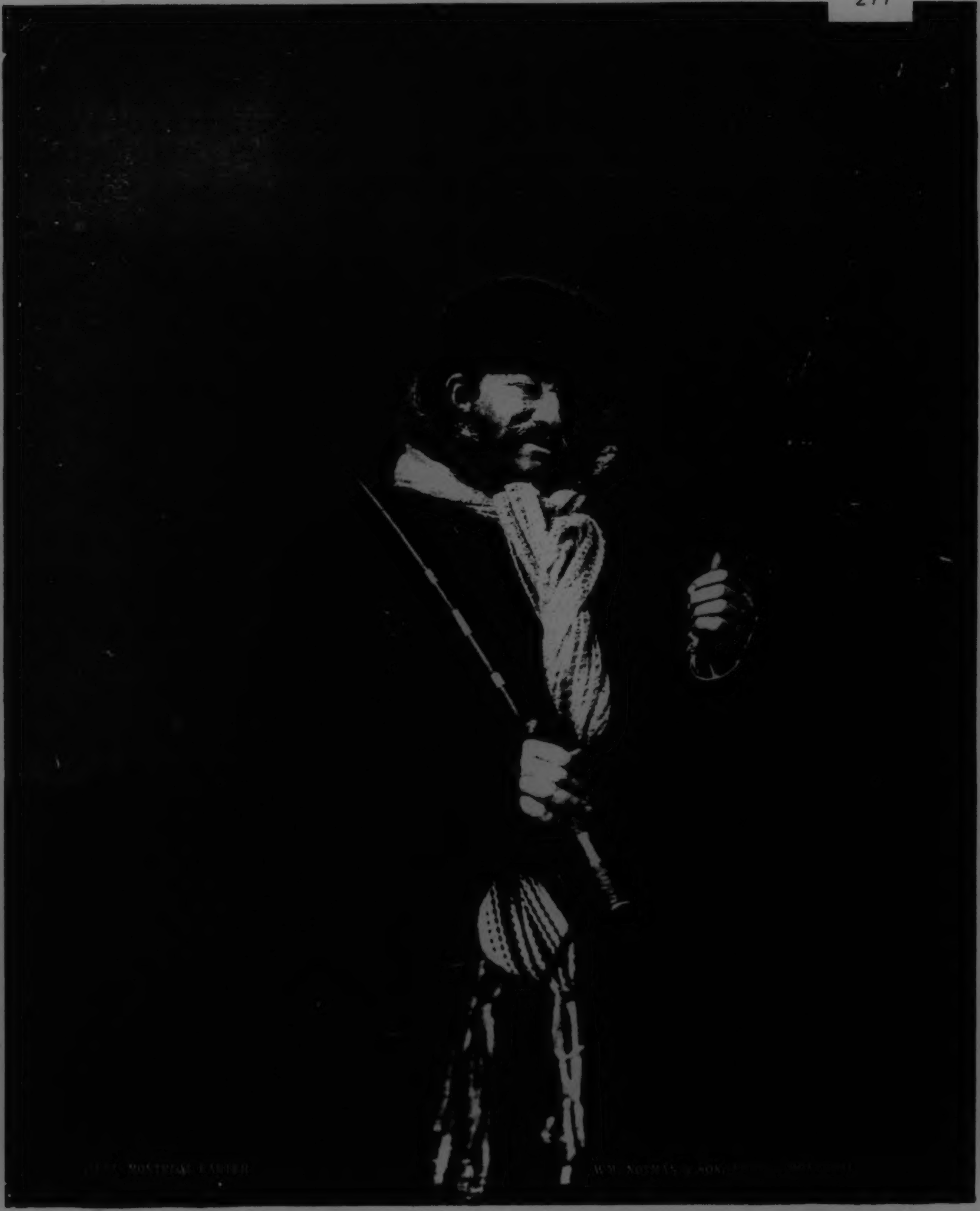
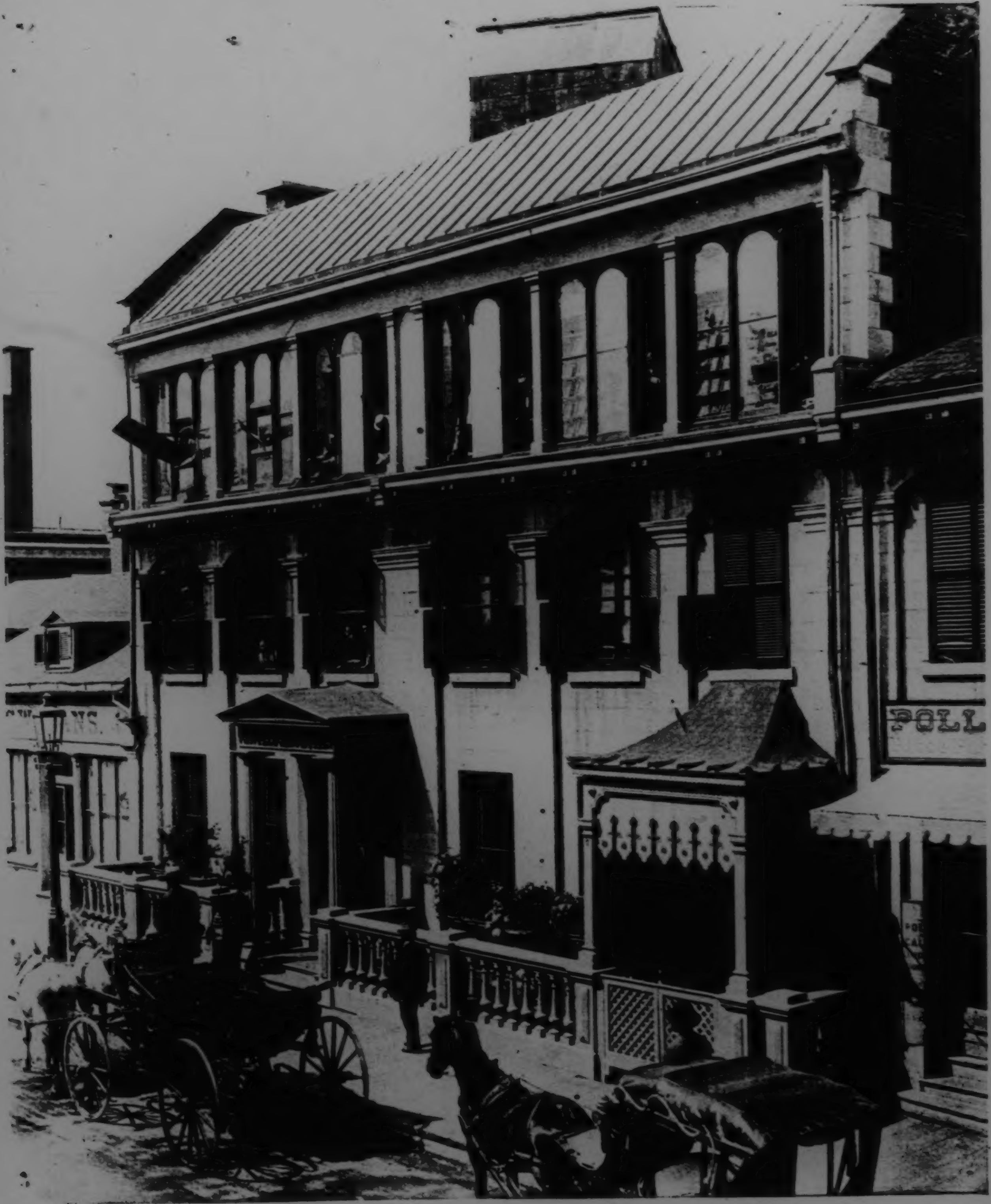

MONTREAL CARTER
WM. NOTMAN & SON

Figure 20. Wm. Notman Studio, Notman Studio Exterior, c.1875


POLL

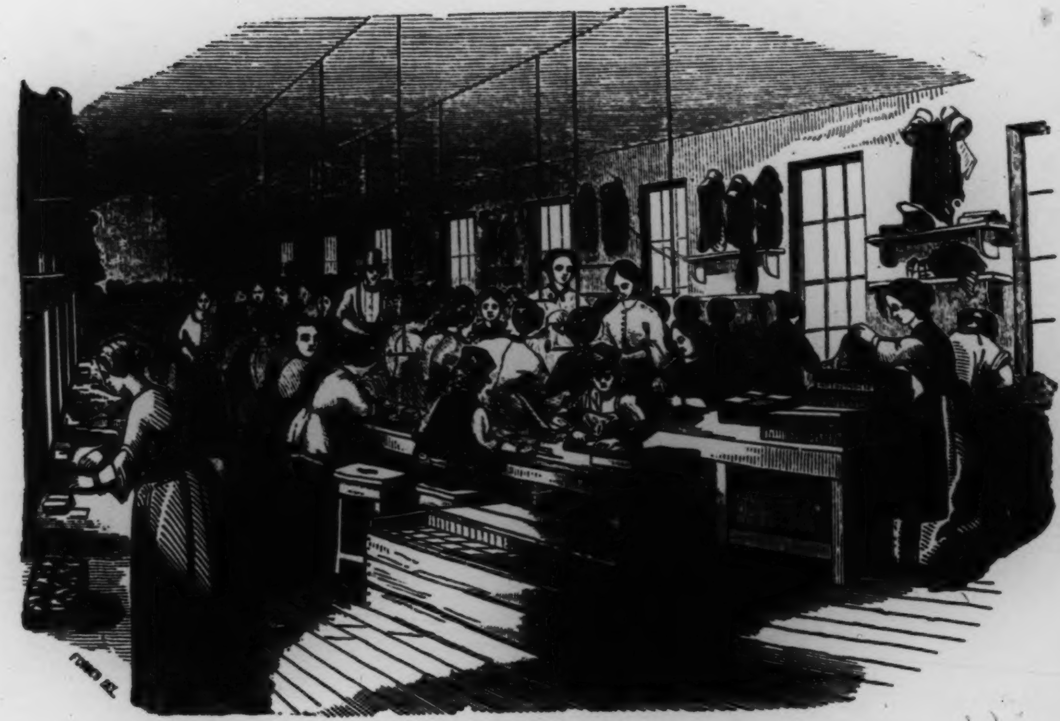


Figure 21. E. & H.T. Anthony Case Covering and Finishing Room, n.d.

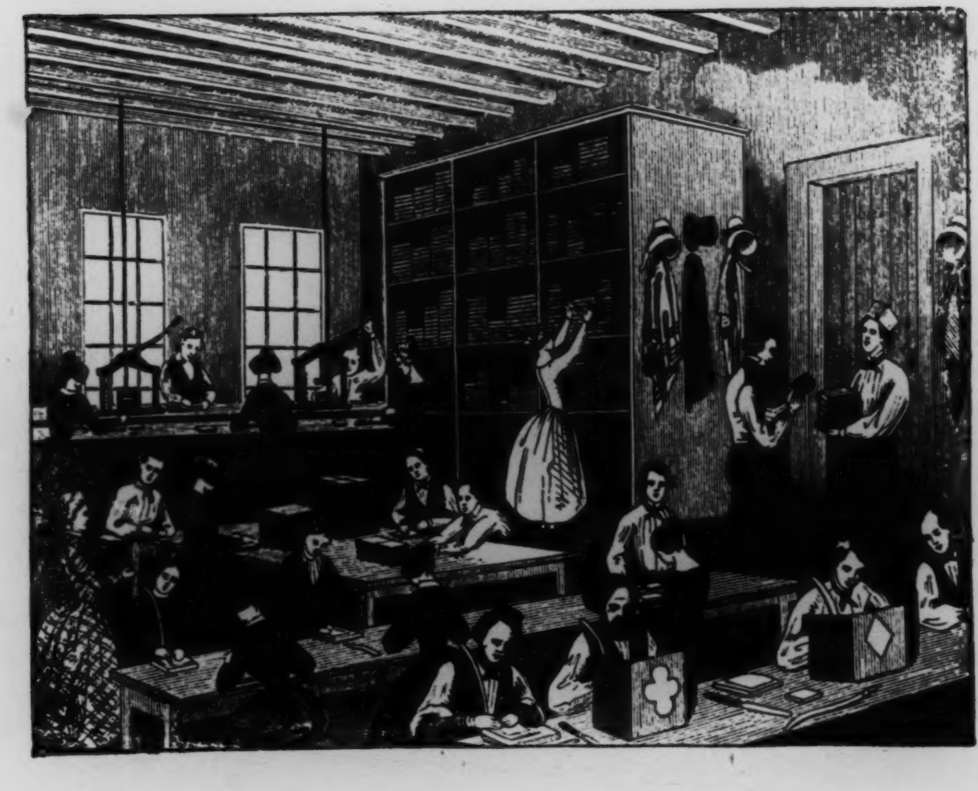
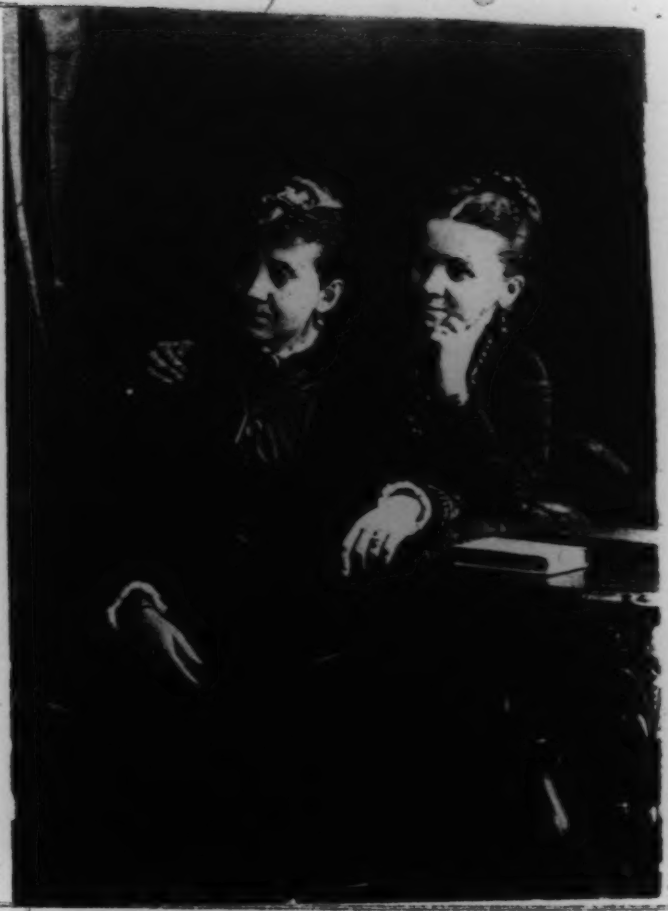


Figure 22. E. & H.T. Anthony Case Gilding Room, n.d.



Mrs. Stenton
+ Sister
19/2/80

55711

Figure 23. Wm. Notman Studio, Mrs. Stenton and Sister, 1880

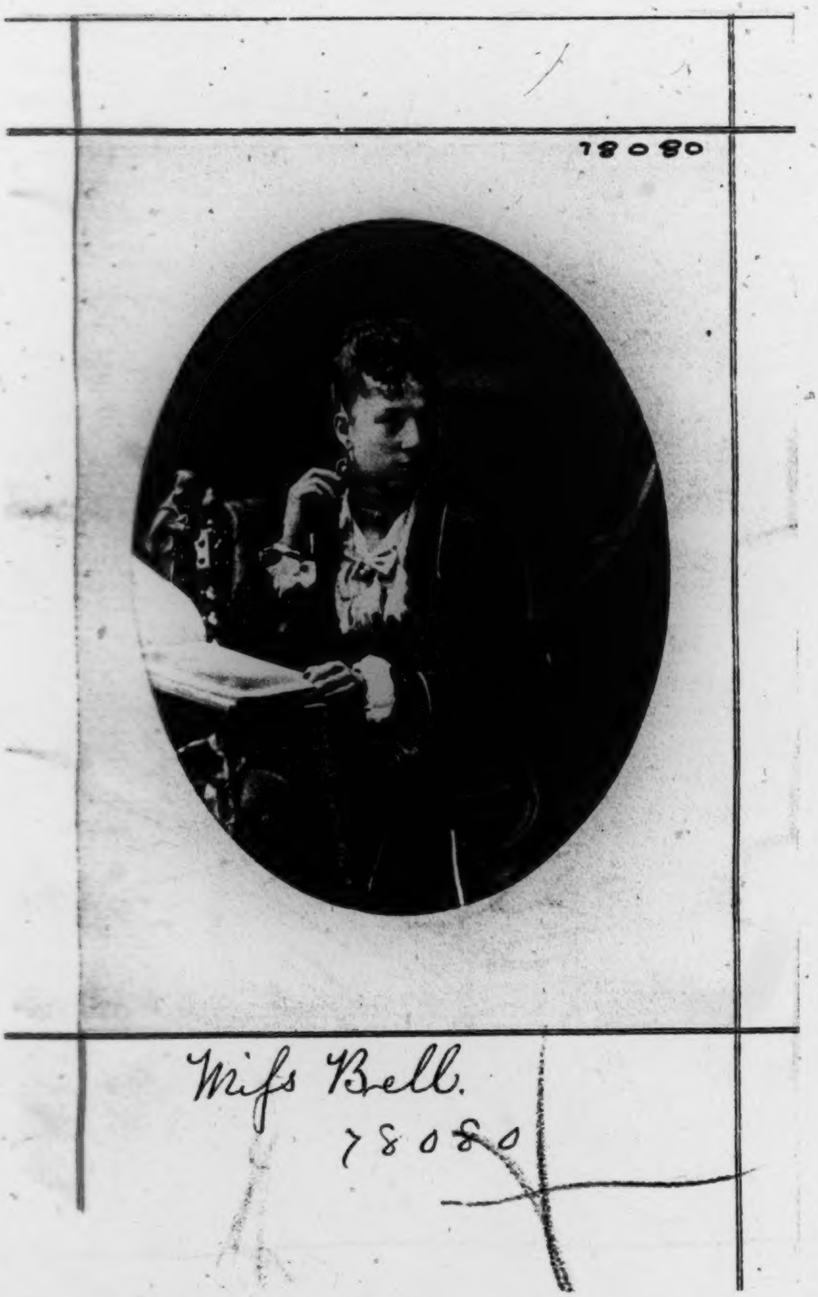

78080
Miſs Bell.
78080

Figure 24. Wm. Notman Studio, Miss Bell, 1872

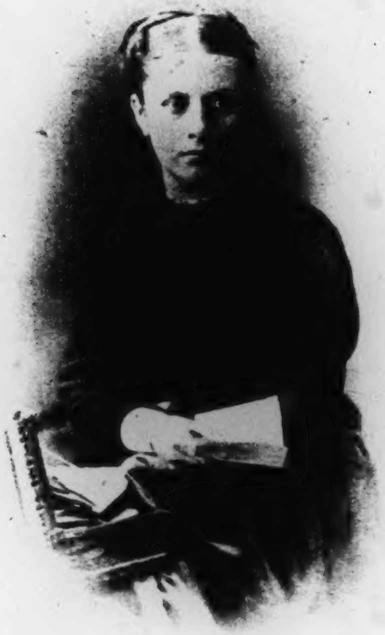


Figure 25. Wm. Notman Studio, Miss Bowie, 1869-70

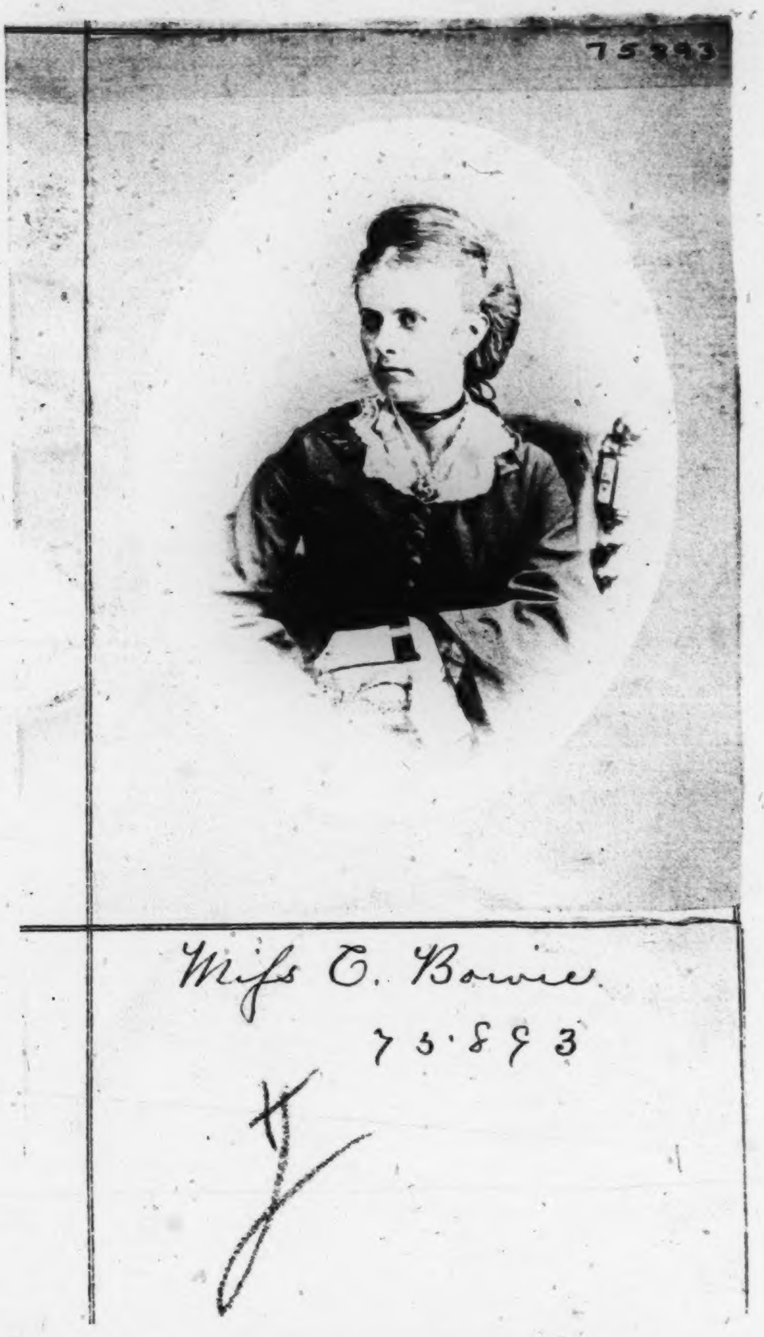

75893
Miss C. Bowie
75.893

Figure 26. Wm. Notman Studio, Miss C. Bowie, 1872

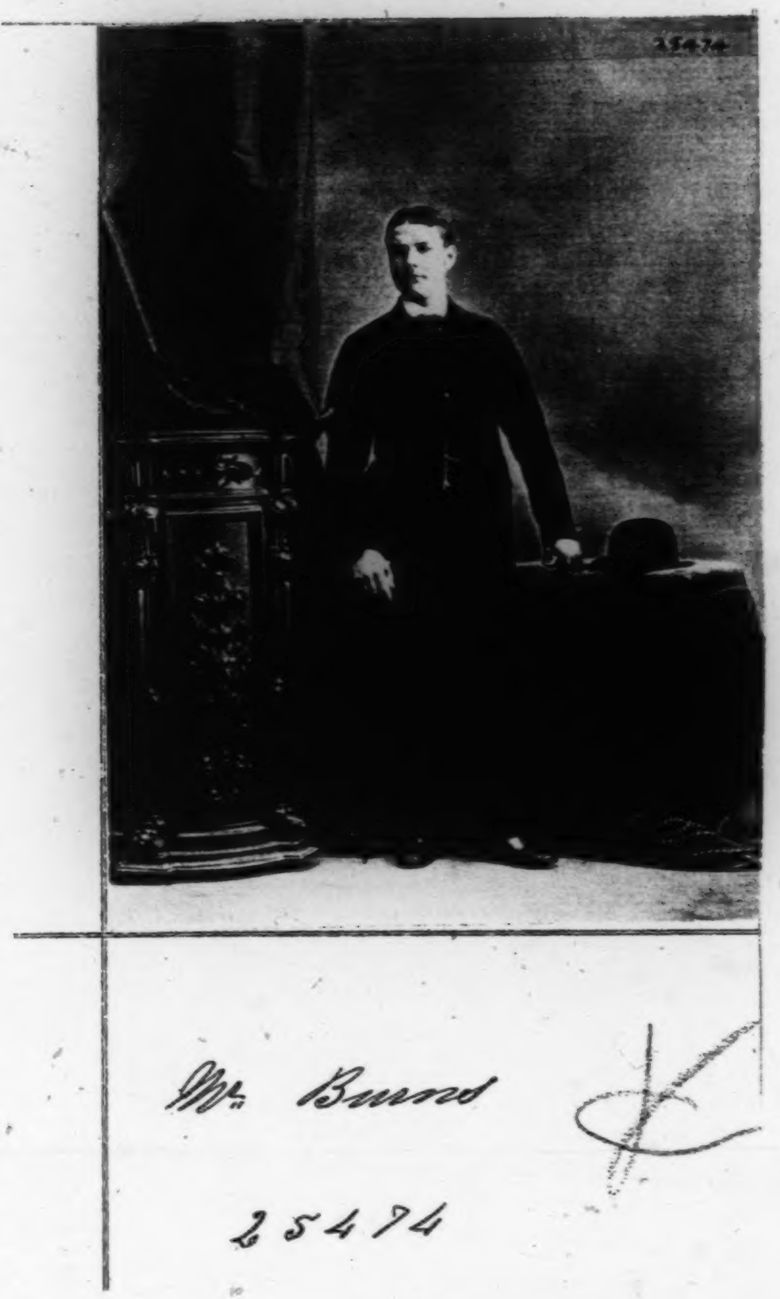
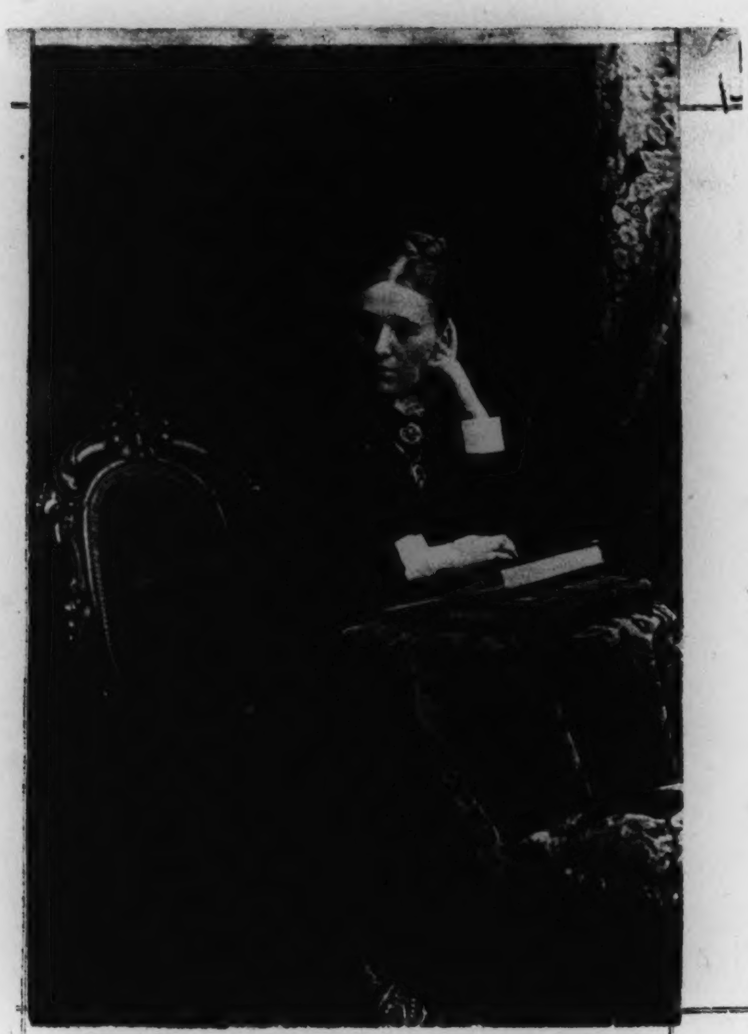

25474
Mr. Burns
25474

Figure 27. Wm. Notman Studio, Mr. Burns, 1867



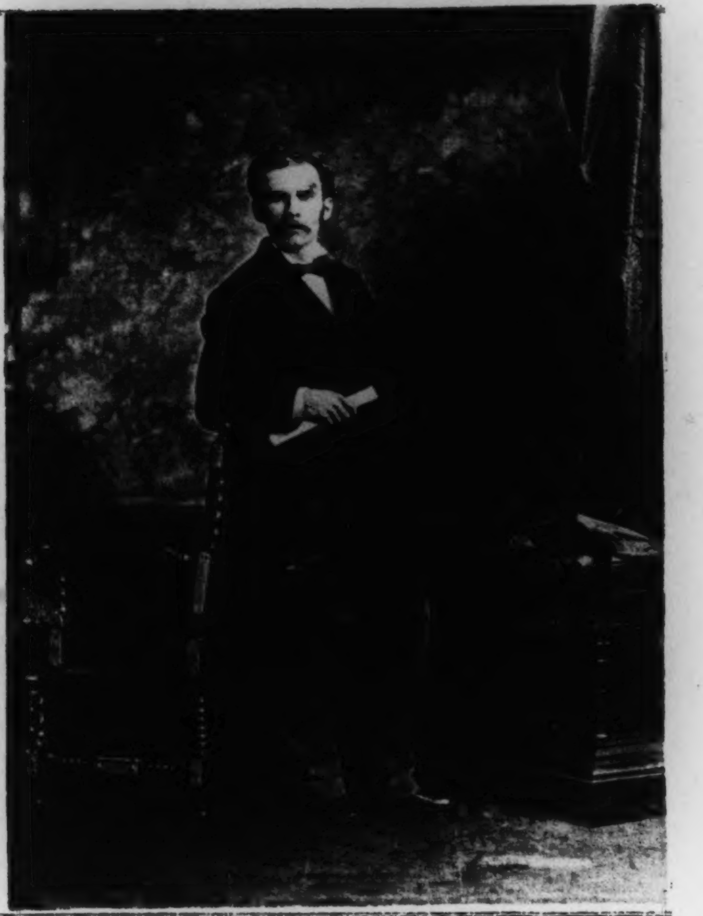
Miss Burns

5-1965

April 18th 1879

Figure 28. Wm. Notman Studio, *Miss Burns*, 1879

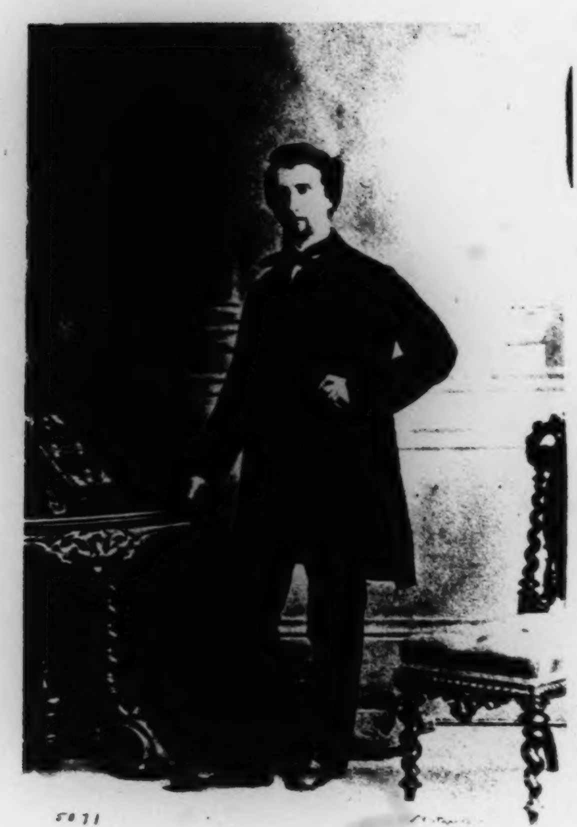
47821



John Burke

47821

Figure 29. Wm. Notman Studio, John Burke, 1878



5071

Figure 30. Wm. Notman Studio, Samuel Jarvis, 1862

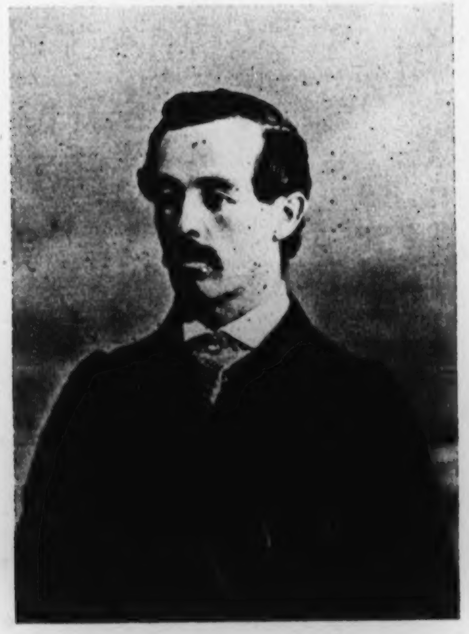


Figure 31. Wm. Notman Studio, George C. Arless, 1863

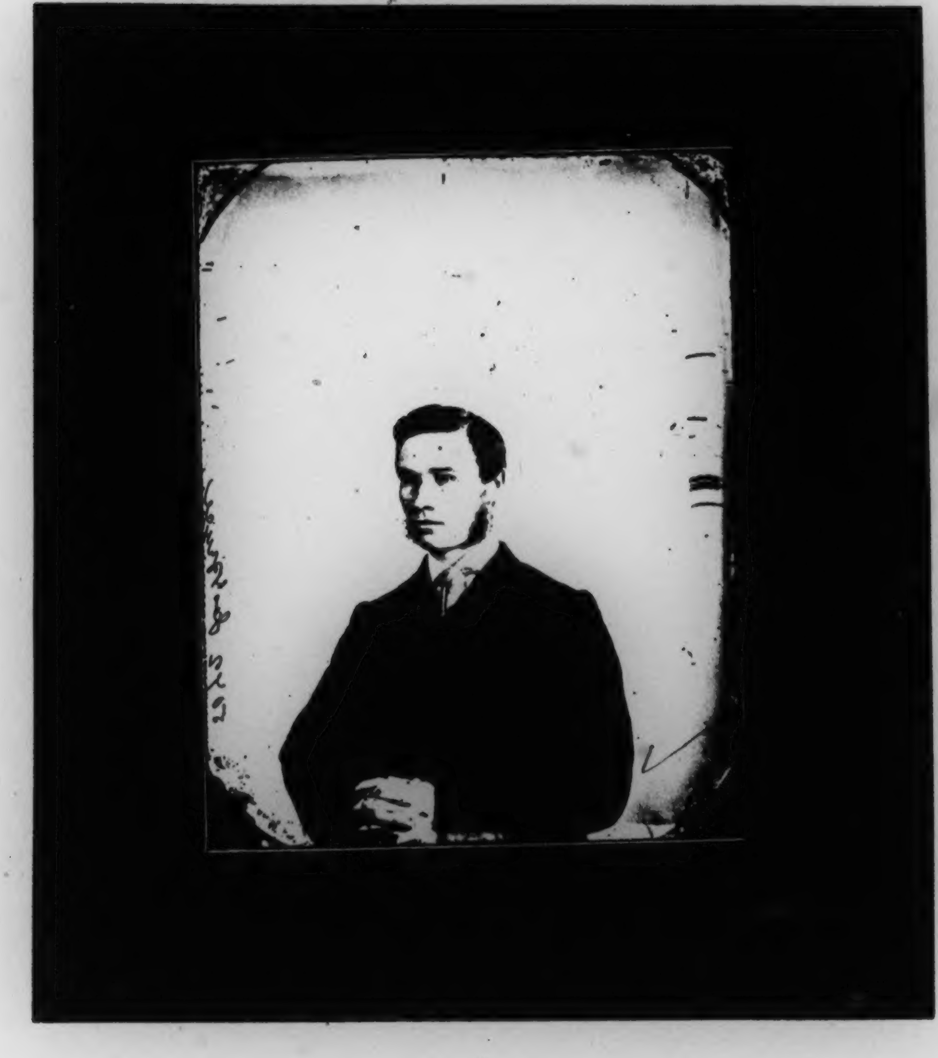
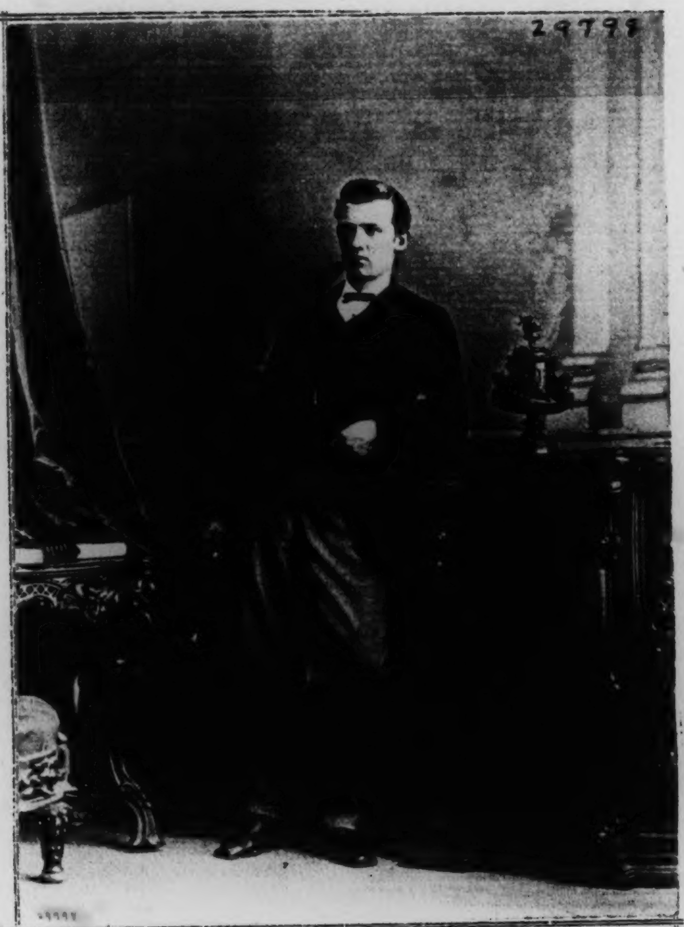


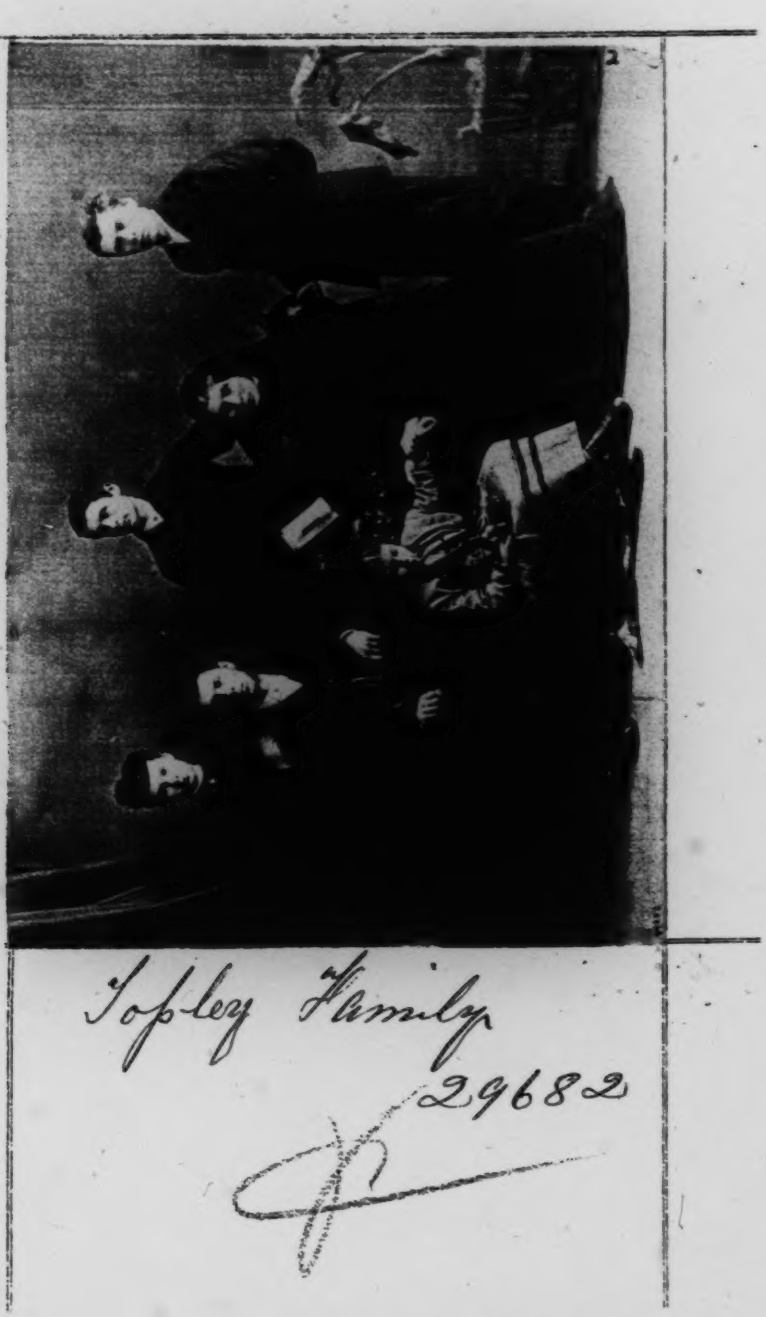
Figure 32. Wm. Notman Studio, Jocia Bruce, 1862



J M. Hayden

29798

Figure 33. Wm. Notman Studio, J.M. Hayden, 1868



Topley Family

29682

Figure 34. Wm. Notman Studio, Topley Family, 1867

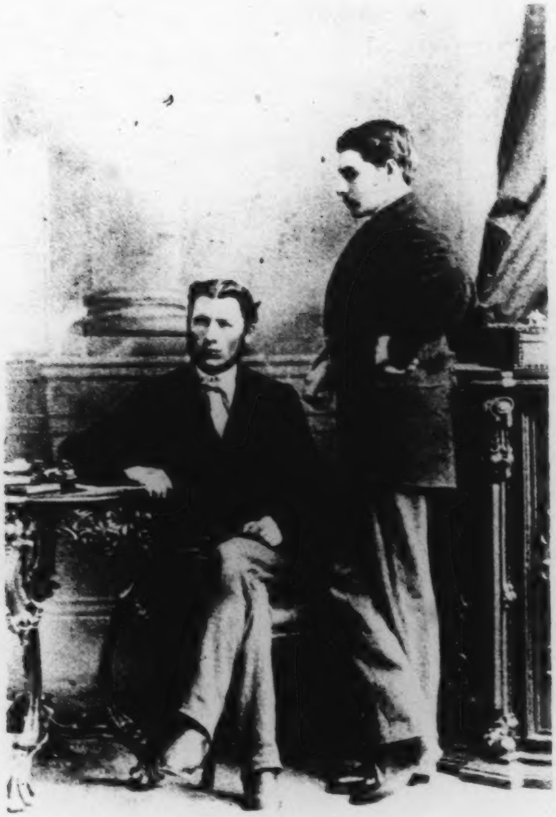


Figure 35. Wm. Notman Studio, Henry Topley and Patrick Mahoney, 1868

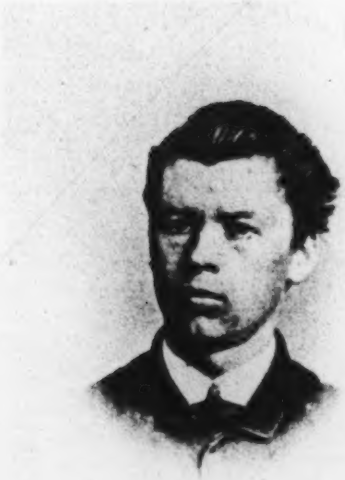
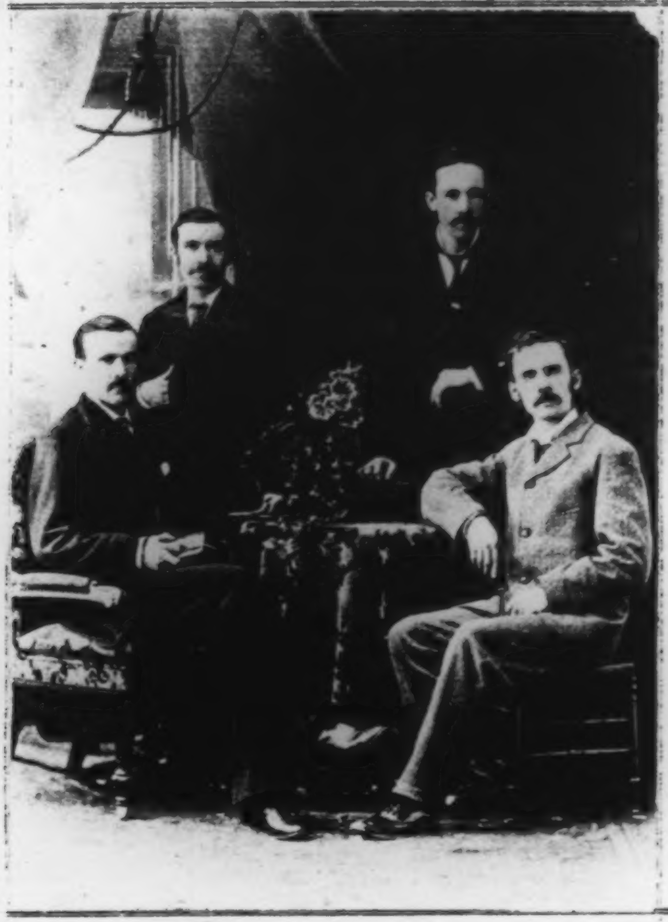


Figure 36. Wm. Notman Studio, Wm. J. Topley, 1866



Mr. Burke & friends

49924

Figure 37. Wm. Notman Studio, Mr. Burke and Friends, 1878

2

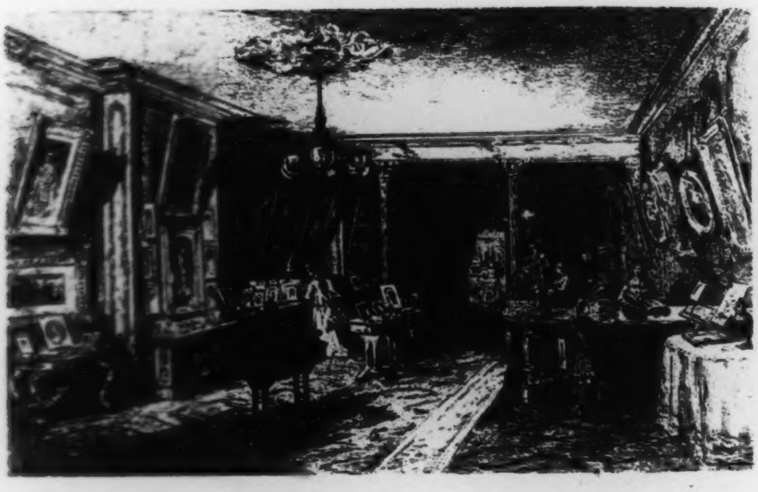
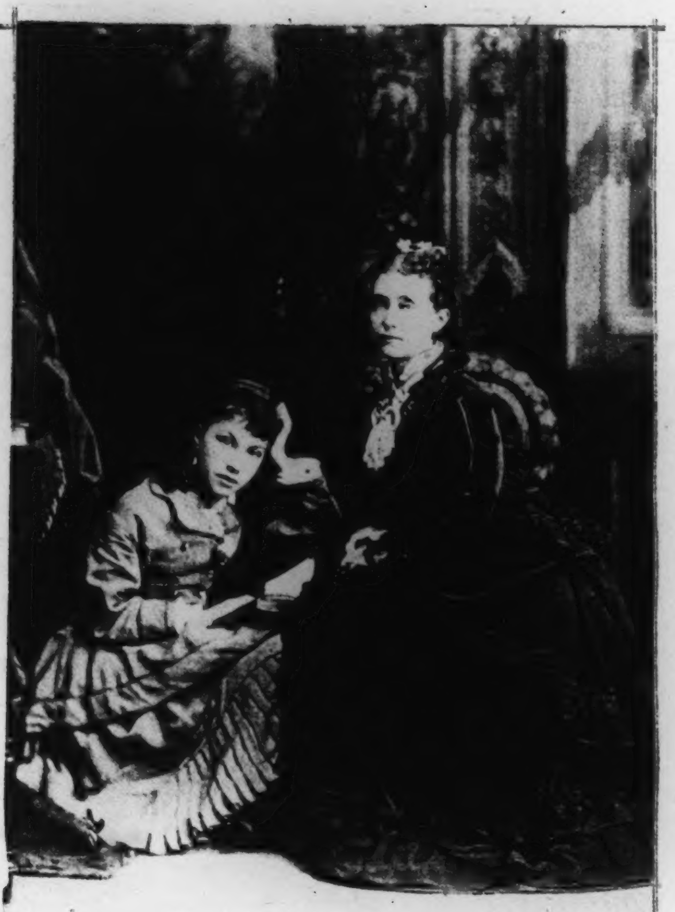


Figure 38. Notman Studio Reception Room, Canadian Illustrated News Dominion Guide, 1872

20331



Mrs & Miss Young

20331

Figure 39. Wm. Notman Studio, Mrs. and Miss Young, 1875

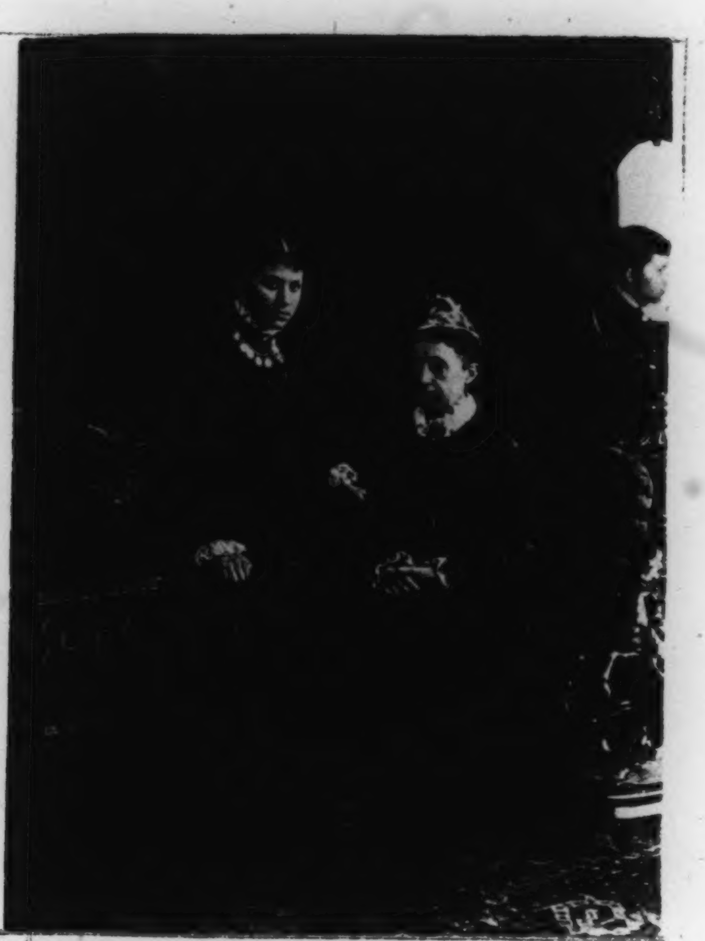
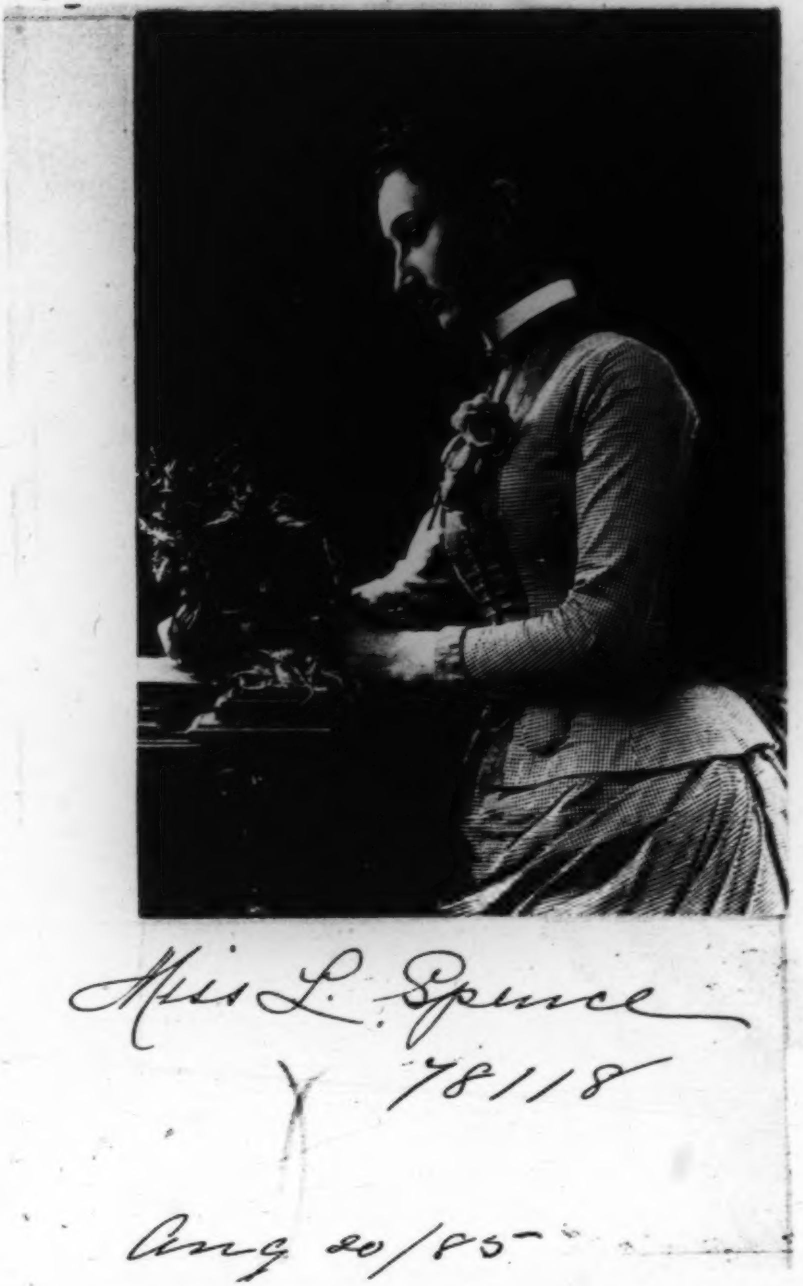


Figure 40. Wm. Notman Studio, Mrs. Young and Child, 1880



Miss L. Spence

78118

Aug 20/85

Figure 41. Wm. Notman Studio, *Miss L. Spence*, 1885

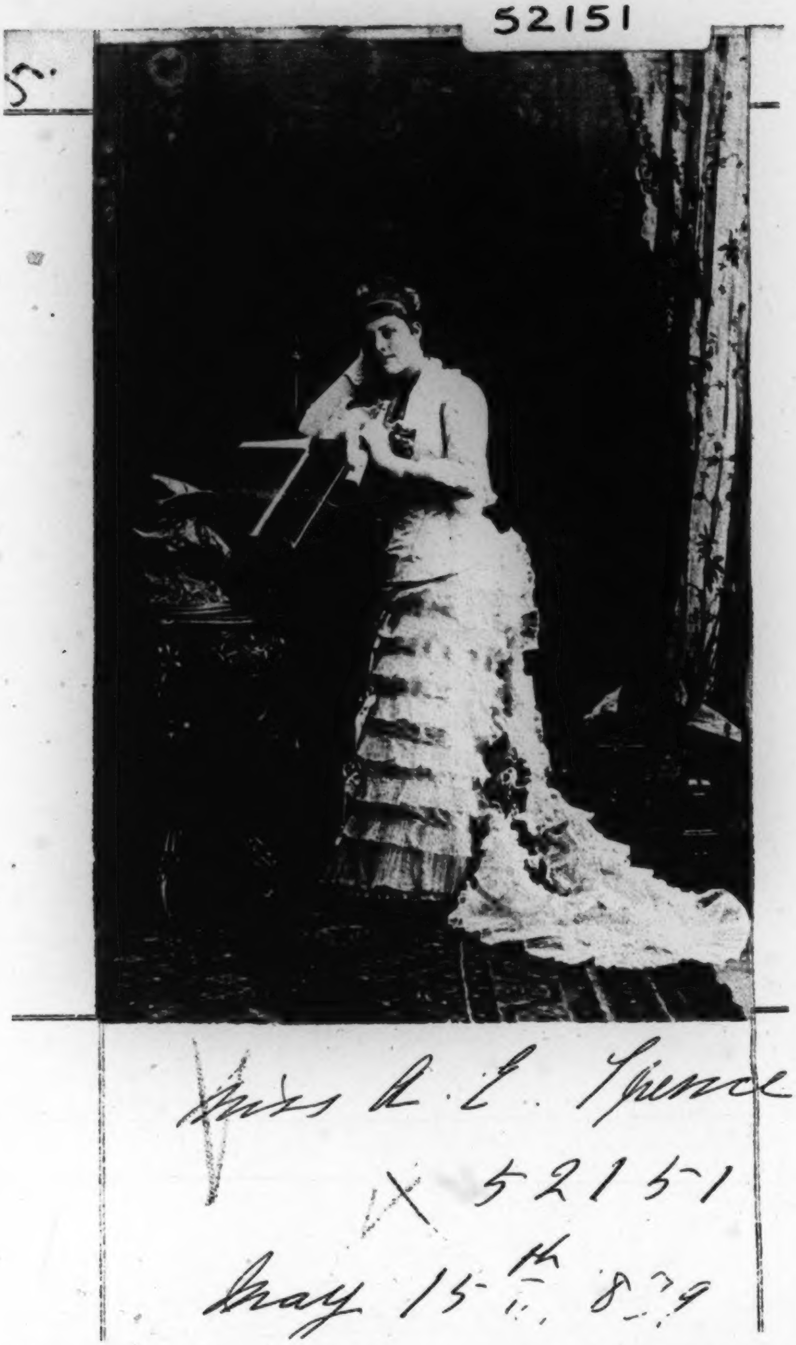
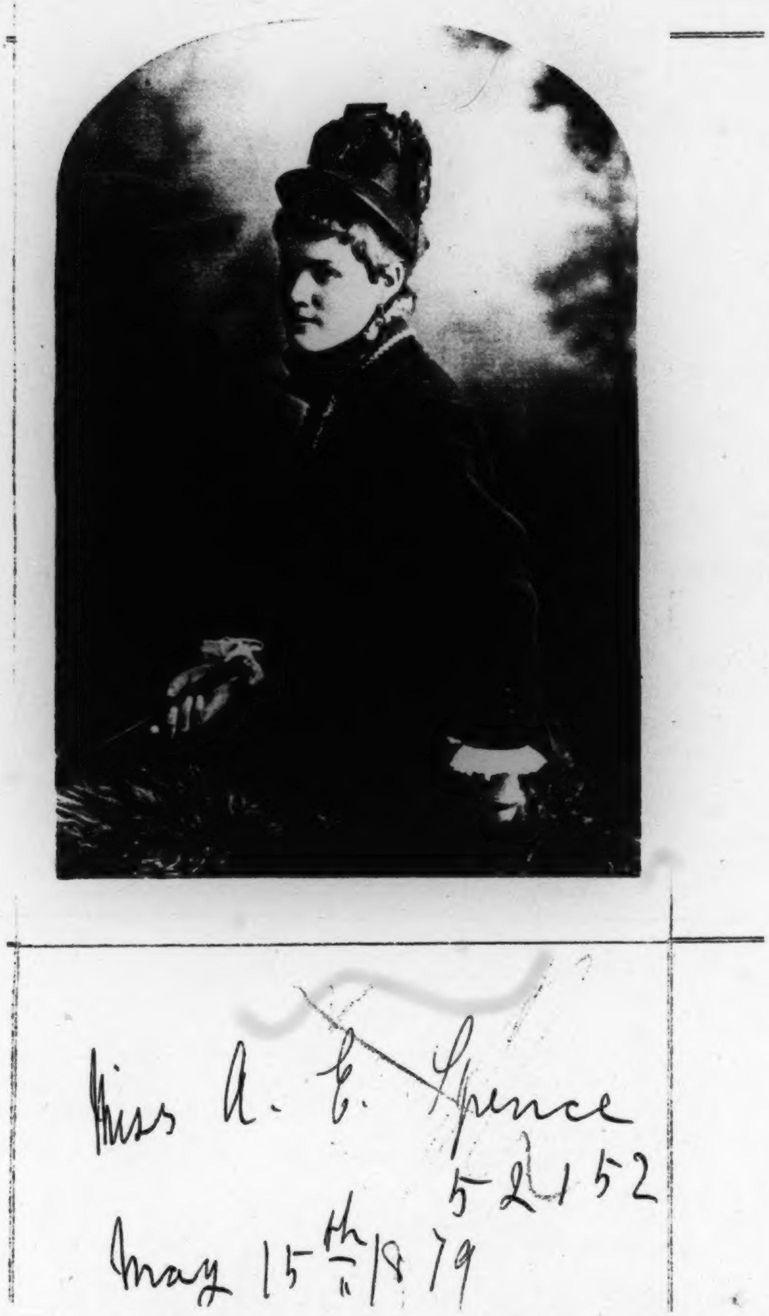

52151
5.
Miss A. E. Spence
× 52151
May 15th 879

Figure 42. Wm. Notman Studio, Miss A.E. Spence, 1879



Miss A. E. Spence
52152
May 15th 1879

Figure 43. Wm. Notman Studio, Miss A.E. Spence, 1879

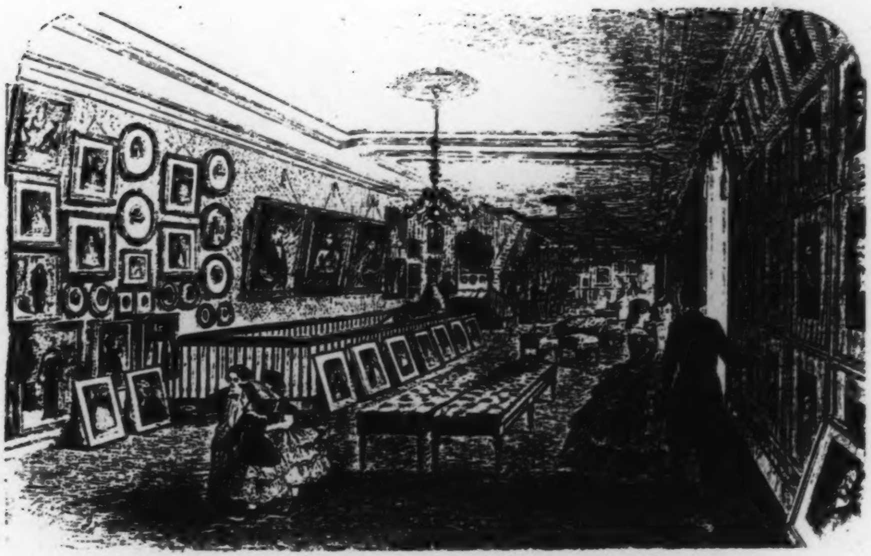


Figure 44. A. Berghaus, "M. Brady's New Photographic Gallery, Corner of Broadway and Tenth Street, New York" 1861

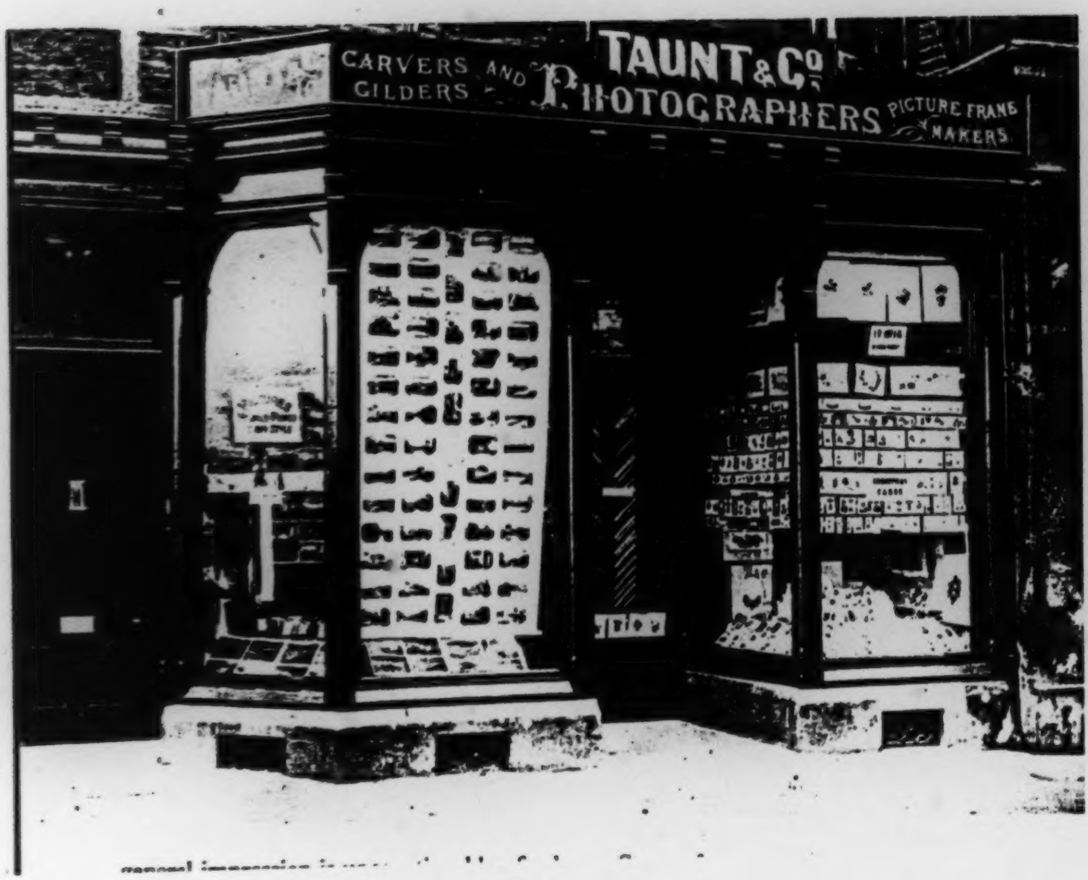

CARVERS AND
GILDERS
TAUNT & Co
PHOTOGRAPHERS
PICTURE FRAME
MAKERS

Figure 45. Taunt's of Oxford, n.d.

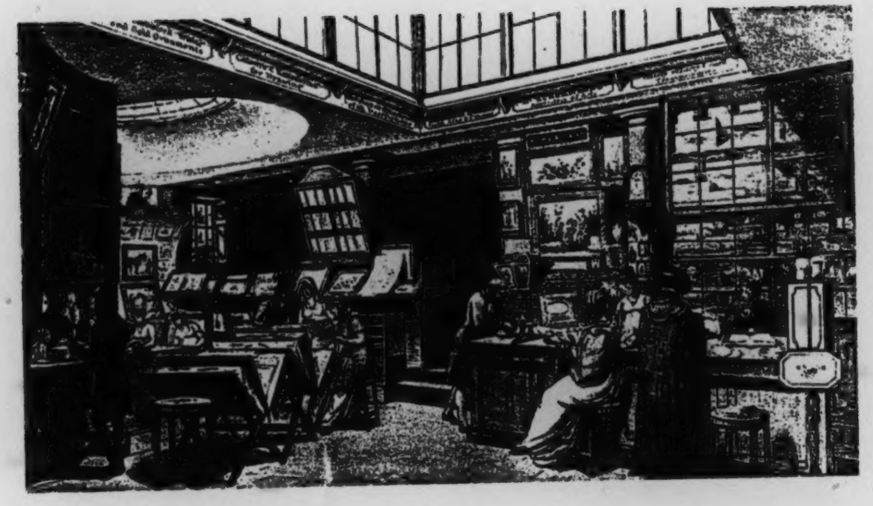
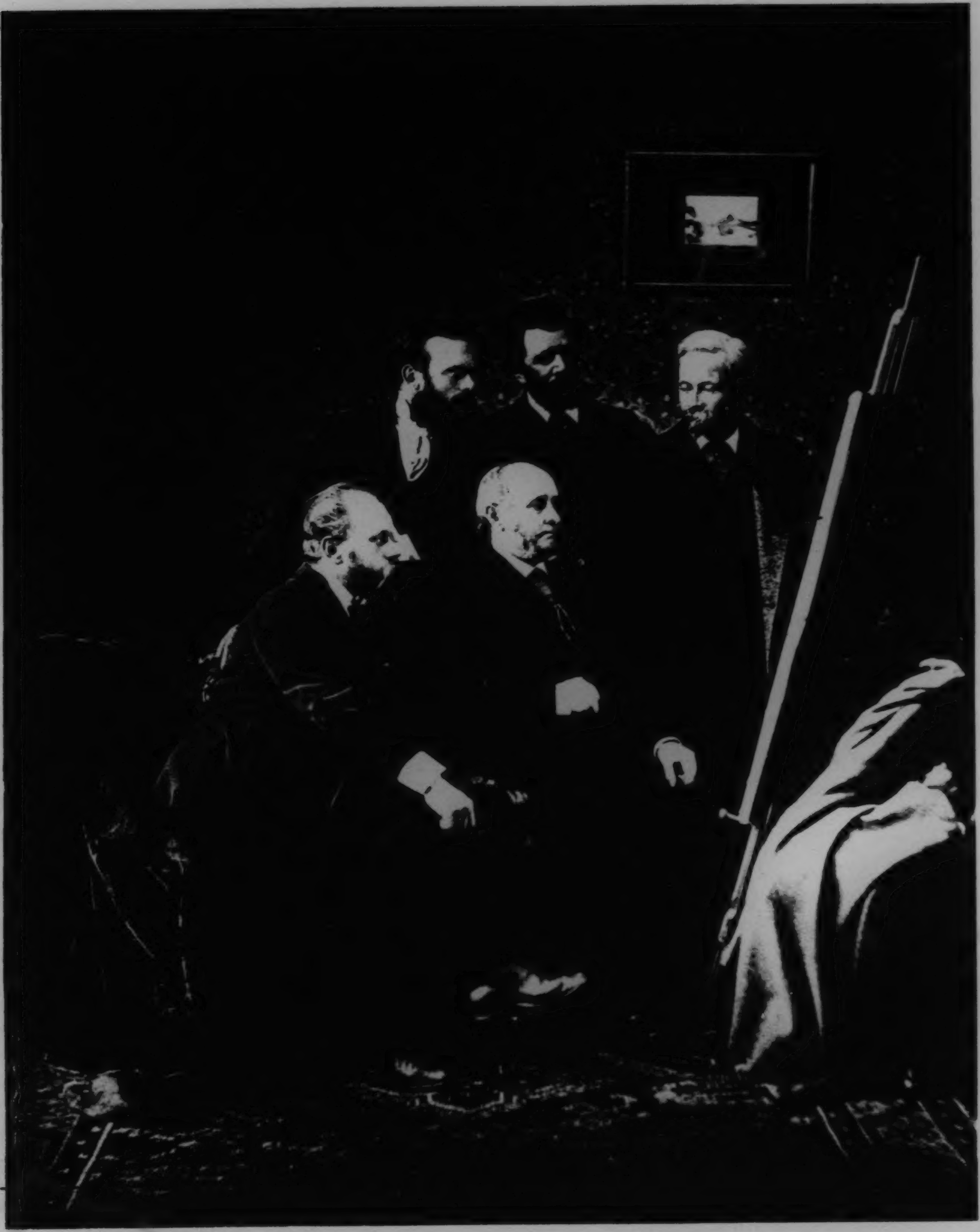
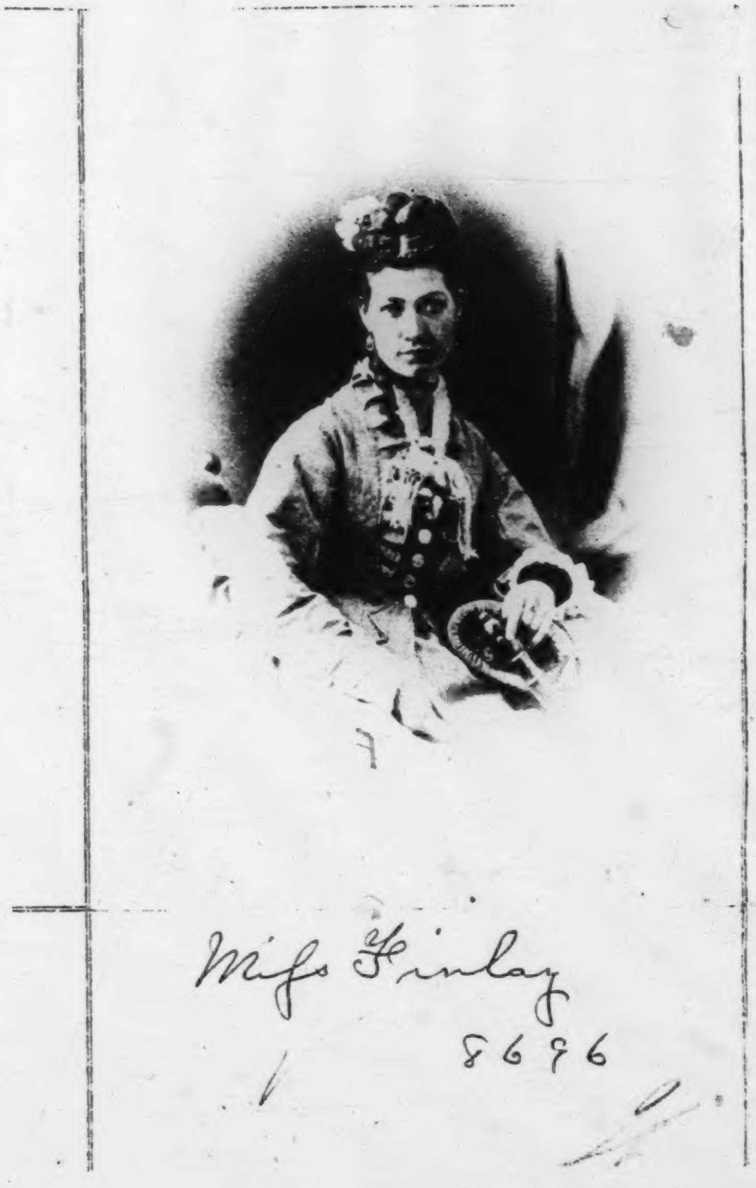


Figure 46. Ackermann's Repository of the Arts, 101 Strand, 1809

Figure 47. Wm. Notman Studio, Mr. Sandham and Friends, 1880





Miss Finlay

8696

Figure 48. Wm. Notman Studio, *Miss Finlay* [*sic*], 1874

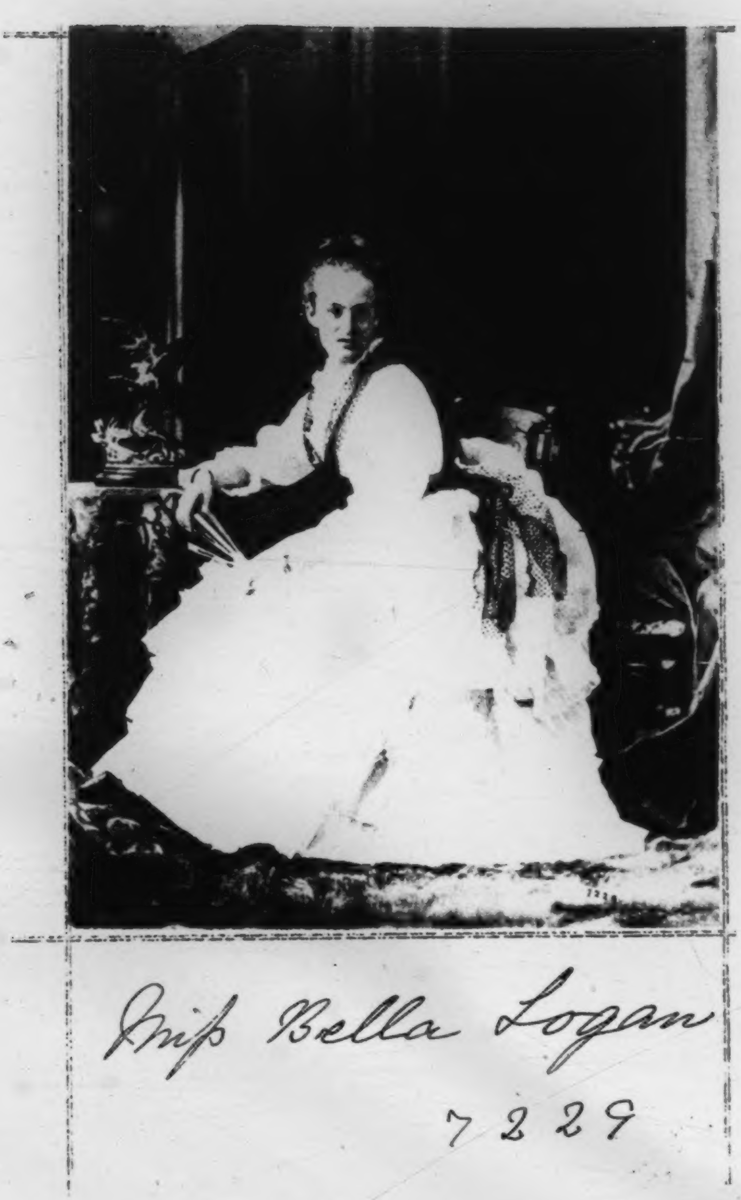

Miſs Bella Logan
7229

Figure 49. Wm. Notman Studio, Miss Bella Logan, 1874

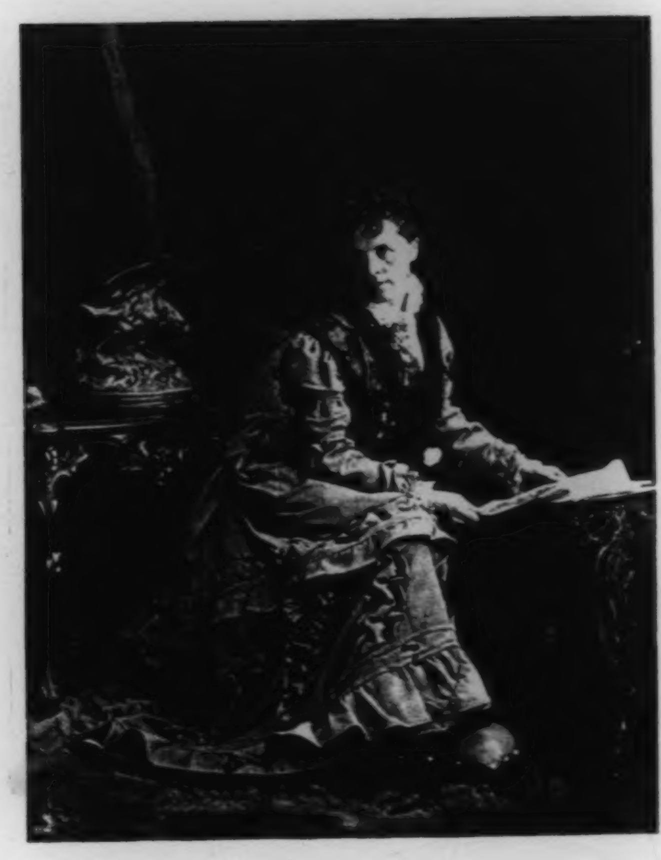


Figure 50. Wm. Notman Studio, Miss McQueen, 1874

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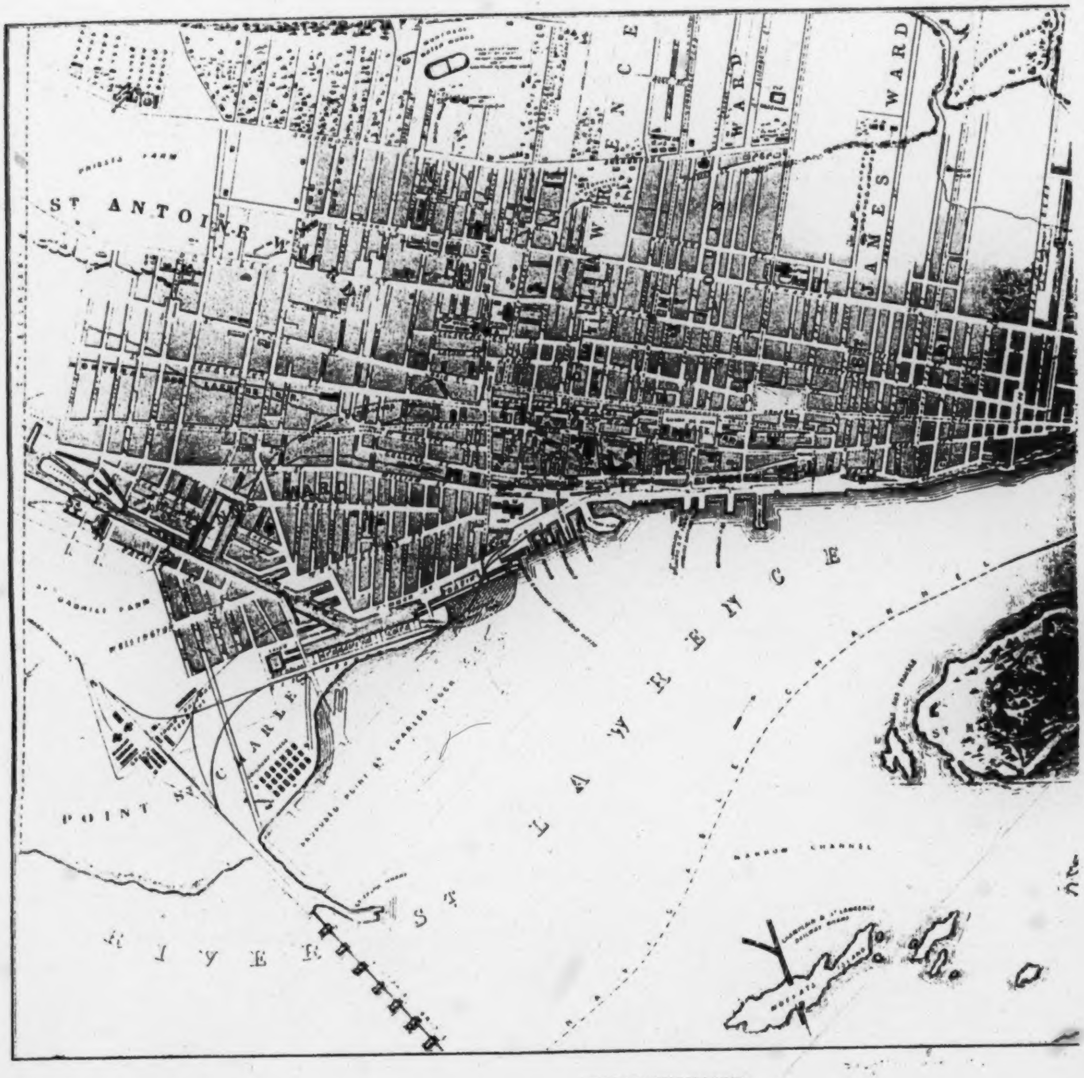
APPENDIX A

MAP OF MONTREAL, WATERLOO AND SONS, 1859
NATIONAL MAP COLLECTION, PUBLIC ARCHIVES


ST ANTOINE WARD
ST LAWRENCE WARD
ST JAMES WARD
POINT ST CHARLES
RIVER ST LAWRENCE
HARBOUR CHANNEL
MOFFATS ISLAND

[illegible] 1859, [illegible]
Reproduced from an original in the
National Map Collection, Public Archives

Association of Canadian Map Libraries
Association des cartothèques canadiennes
Facsimile No. 39 Fac-similé

APPENDIX B

PHOTOGRAPHY ESTABLISHMENTS IN MONTREAL, 1871

The following list of photographic establishments was compiled by means of the database Canind71 composed from the Industrial Schedule of the 1871 Manuscript Census of Canada by Elizabeth Bloomfield and G.T. Bloomfield (University of Guelph, 1990).

NAME	ADDRESS	WARD	EMPLOYED	VALUE
Cantin, Louis Octave	175 McGill	West	1	$ 1,375
Inglis, James	199 St. James	West	18	22,000
Parks, J.G.	188 St. James	West	8	5,000
Sawyer, William	113 St. Peter	West	4	6,000
Desmarais, O.	N/A	Centre	1	2,000
Seveille, Jean [?]	192 Notre Dame	East	2	2,000
Grenier, Henri	51 St. Vincent	East	1	4,500
Levine, George [?]	68 Pl. J. Cartier	East	1	1,196
Chapleau, Alphonse	N/A	St.-Jacques	2	1,000
Henderson, Alexander	10 Philips Sq.	St.-Antoine	3	6,000
Notman and Barton*	Bleury St.	St.-Laurent	51	70,000
O'Reilly, John	N/A	St.-Laurent	2	3,000

*Barton is unknown but believed to have been a major investor in the Notman firm at that time.

APPENDIX C

NUMBERS OF EMPLOYED, BY GENDER, AT PHOTOGRAPHY ESTABLISHMENTS IN MONTREAL, 1871

The following list of photographic establishments was compiled by means of the database Canind71 composed from the Industrial Schedule of the 1871 Manuscript Census of Canada by Elizabeth Bloomfield and G.T. Bloomfield (University of Guelph, 1990).

STUDIO	WOMEN	MEN	GIRLS*	BOYS*	TOTAL
Cantin	0	1	0	0	1
Inglis	4	12	0	2	18
Parks	3	5	0	0	8
Sawyer	0	3	0	1	4
Desmarais	0	1	0	0	1
Seveille	0	1	0	1	2
Grenier	0	1	0	0	1
Levine	0	1	0	0	1
Chapleau	0	2	0	0	2
Henderson	1	2	0	0	3
Notman	5	45	1	0	51
O'Reilly	0	2	0	0	2
TOTALS	13	76	1	4	94

*"Girls" and "Boys" are those under age sixteen.

APPENDIX D

NUMBERS OF EMPLOYEES AT NOTMAN'S STUDIO, 1864-1881

The numbers on following list of employees at Notman's studio were compiled by Notman Photographic Archives' staff from the Notman studio wages books. The wages books do not include ages therefore these numbers include any girls or boys that may have been on staff.

DATE	WOMEN	MEN	TOTAL
1864	1	28	29
1865	1	42	43
1866	2	35	37
1867	4	26	30
1868	5	29	34
1869	5	32	37
1870	5	39	44
1871	10	38	48
1872	14	39	53
1873	15	40	55
1874	18	37	55
1875	18	35	53
1876	9	43	52
1877	7	31	38
1878	7	30	37
1879	6	27	33
1880	10	27	37
1881	11	27	38